CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

CATALOGUE OF BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS IN THEIR LITURGICAL CONTEXT

Subsidia

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CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

Collected Papers, resulting from the expert meeting of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts programme held at the PThU in Kampen, the Netherlands on 6th-7th November 2009

Edited By

Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé



BREPOLS

Cover illustration
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Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν
(Again and again, in peace, let us pray to the Lord)
Beginning of the second short Litany of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom

Cover design by Hilde Verhelst

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'...halten wir es für notwendig, beim Studium der Schrift die Aufmerksamkeit nicht nur auf die Formen der Buchstaben und der über der Zeile befindlichen Zeichen sowie auf die Zahl der Ligaturen und Abkürzungen u. ä. zu richten, sondern die Handschrift als Ganzes zu betrachten, die Besonderheiten der äußeren Gestaltung in engem Zusammenhang met dem Inhalt und der Bestimmung der untersuchten Handschrift zu sehen, was möglicherwiese eine Klassifizierung der schon bekannten Denkmäler von einem neuen Gesichtspunkt aus erlaubt...'

E. E. GRANSTREM, 'Zur byzantinischen Minuskel', in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. by D. Harlfinger, Darmstadt, 1980, p. 111.

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Aland NT^{27}	B. and K. Aland (and others) (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*^{27}, Stuttgart, 2006.
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Anal Boll	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Paris, Brussels and Geneva, 1882 - .
Baumstark	A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes. Troisième édition revue par Dom B. Botte O. S. B.*, Chevetogne-Paris, 1953.
BTT	*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, Belfast, 1991 - .
BMFD	*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents.*
BEΠ	*Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων*, Athens, 1955 -.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* Leipzig-Munich, 1892 - .
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, Turnhout, 1977 - .
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Paris-Leipzig-Louvain, 1903 - .
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DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941 - .
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Gregory	C. R. Gregory, *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908.
Hunger I-III	H. Hunger, O. Kresten, C. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Codices theologici*, 3 Bdn., Wien, 1976-1992.
JÖB(G)	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (bis Bd. 17: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*), Wien 1951-
Kouroupou/Géhin	M. Kouroupou et P. Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki, vol. I : notices descriptives. Vol. II : illustrations, Turnhout,* 2008.
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MMB	C. Høeg, G. Zuntz, G. Engberg (eds.), *Prophetologium* I-II (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Lectionaria. Vol. I), Copenhagen, 1939-1981.
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Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca*	B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols., Paris, 1739. [Hildesheim, 1982]
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta,* Rome, 1935 -.
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* Rome, 1935 -.
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by A. Kazdan, 3 vols., New York and Oxford, 1991.
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TYPIKON E ed. JORDAN — R. JORDAN (ed.), *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, Text and translation, (Belfast Byzantine texts and Translations), 3 vols. [vol. 3: Indexes], Belfast, 2000-2007.

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The editors of this volume would like to thank the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, which is funding the ongoing project of the cataloguing of Byzantine manuscripts.

Thanks are also due to the Protestant Theological University for hosting the expert meeting in 2009 in Kampen (Netherlands) and in general for facilitating the CBM project in many ways.

We greatly welcome the positive and fruitful participation of colleagues from so many parts of the world and from such different disciplines.

We were very lucky to find in Dr. Chris Jordan someone who very skilfully and precisely corrected the English of all contributions. Furthermore, we heartedly want to thank Dr. Walter Brokkaar (emer. Byzantine Studies, University of Amsterdam) for proofreading the text and contributing greatly to its improvement.

The publishing managers of Brepols Publishers, Dr. Bart Janssens and Luc Jocqué, have been involved from the very beginning of the project and their editorial input is much appreciated.

Foreword

CBM Editors

(*Kampen, Tilburg, Amsterdam*)

This publication is the outcome of an expert meeting organised by the Protestant Theological University in Kampen [PThU], the Netherlands, on 6th – 7th November 2009. This meeting was the first gathering of a group of scholars on the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts [CBM] programme, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. The CBM programme aims to develop a new methodology for codicological research of the Byzantine manuscripts that is based on relating the manuscripts to their original environment, i.e. the liturgical context and practice of the monasteries and the churches in which they were manufactured and functioned. Its primary task is to create a new catalogue of all extant Byzantine manuscripts that draws directly from the practices of modern Byzantine codicology, whereby the integral codex is studied in its given condition, both in form and content.

In 2009, the first year of the programme's existence, an international CBM Advisory Board was created comprising scholars from different areas of expertise in the field of Byzantine cataloguing and codicology. This was supported by a series of meetings in, among others, Münster (INTF[1]), Birmingham (ITSEE[2]), Göttingen (SU[3]), St. Petersburg (Biblioteca Biblica) and Athens (University of Athens). The Advisory Board met for the first time in Kampen in November 2009 in order to launch a platform for academic discourse on the topic of cataloguing liturgical manuscripts.

The expert meeting commenced with an open lecture in the PThU in Kampen by Professor Christian Hannick (Wurzburg) on the importance of Byzantine manuscripts and codicology. Presentations were held by Professor Sysse Engberg (Copenhagen) on the classification of Prophetologion codices; Professor Efthymios Litsas (Thessalonica) on cataloguing work on Mount Athos; Dr. Erich Lamberz (Munich) on cataloguing Tetraevangelion manuscripts recently found in the Skeuophylakion of Mone Vatopediou; Assistant Professor Stefanos Alexopoulos (Athens) on the liturgical relevance of codicology from the point of view of Greek scholarship; Professor Theodora Antonopoulou (Athens) on Byzantine homiletics; Professor Christian Hannick on Byzantine musical and liturgical manuscripts and editions; Professor Ulrich Schmid (Münster) on the INTF Virtual Manuscript Room and the connected digitisation projects of manuscripts on a universal scale; Dr. Stefan Royé (Amsterdam/Kampen) on the pilot edition of a *pinakes* of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion anagnosmata; and Dr. Sergei Ovsiannikov (Amsterdam/Kampen) on the possibilities of CBM digital presentation forms. Professor Klaas Spronk (Kampen) moderated the meetings and provided the concluding remarks. Brepols Publishers was represented by Dr. Bart Janssens (Turnhout). Also present for the discussions was Professor Gerard Rouwhorst of the University of Tilburg.

This volume is a direct result of the Kampen meeting. Papers and topics presented at the expert meeting have been augmented and developed into articles. In this volume of Collected Papers one will find a diverse selection of articles that all treat the principles and methodology of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts programme from their own angle and discipline. On the basis of these contributions the reader

[1] Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung.
[2] Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing, University of Birmingham.
[3] Das Septuaginta-Unternehmen.

should be able to form a clear image of the direction in which the programme is developing. The volume concludes with a CBM publication plan, enlisting the publications envisaged in the proceeding years.

After an explanatory introduction to the CBM programme [*Preamble: the leading principles, aim and methodology of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme*], the volume of Collected Papers opens with a reflection on CBM by the general supervisor of the programme, Klaas Spronk. Spronk discusses the hermeneutic and textual implications of the CBM project in the context of East and West dialogue, setting a scene for the plethora of subjects that follow [*The study of the historical-liturgical context of the Bible: A bridge between 'East' and 'West'?*].

Part 1 concerns the codico-liturgical methodology that is used by CBM for codex classification. Stefanos Alexopoulos expresses his view on the urgent need of Typikon research, highlighting the Typikon's central function of directing the whole Byzantine liturgical system and its formative influence on the formation of the codices. Alexopoulos sets out the contours of a new exploration of the Typikon in a codico-liturgical context, a new endeavour in which scholars [of Greek] will play a central role [*The place of the Typikon in the codico-liturgical method*]. Marcello Garzaniti provides a penetrating article that explains in detail the close kinship between Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices (Garzanti uses the term 'The Gospel Book', since this single title represents both codex modalities), and analyses their underlying codico-liturgical structures and features. Of particular interest are the references to the state of research on biblical corpora in Slavic manuscript studies, an area of special importance since Slavic scholarship is advanced in codico-liturgical learning [*The Gospel Book and its liturgical function in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition*]. Stefan Royé elaborates the topic of the study of apparatuses in Tetraevangelion (and Evangelion) manuscripts, concentrating on the early Byzantine Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the later middle Byzantine liturgical pericope system. Royé discusses the unexpected connection between the two systems, which is made evident by demonstrating the numerical organisation of both systems. This subject gives an insight into the close relationship and interconnections between the two manuscript groups (Tetraevangelion and Evangelion), effectuating the principal decision to catalogue and present both groups in one volume [*The cohesion between the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the Byzantine liturgical pericope system in Tetraevangelion codices: Stages in the creation, establishment and evolution of Byzantine codex forms*]. The final article in Part 1 is provided by Sergei Ovsiannikov. Ovsiannikov gives a survey of anagnostic-liturgical systematics behind the different subtypes of Evangelion codices (Gospel lectionaries), paying particular attention to issues of the underlying calendar-liturgical structures. These detailed analyses help to prepare the ground for the further refined classification of Evangelion codices and are enriched with evidence from Slavic manuscript research [*The paschal spiral and different types of the Byzantine and Slavonic lectionaries*].

Part 2 deals with the liturgico-historical setting in which the codex formation took place in the formative early Byzantine period, prior to the formation of the fully developed Byzantine lection system. Gerard Rouwhorst examines and assesses the relevant external (literary) evidence concerning the liturgical Bible which is available for this period; a first effort to gather the available materials and to set up a synthetic overview of the subject from a historical point of view [*The liturgical reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity. The protohistory of the Byzantine lectionary*]. Anatoly Alexeev concentrates on the Jerusalem region in the period before the emergence of the Byzantine New Testament lectionary and discusses a number of liturgical lections which have left vestiges in this lectionary. He addresses in particular their relationships to various Jewish traditions. The contribution provides important basic insight into the formation of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices [*On Jerusalem Vestiges of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary*]. Theodora Antonopoulou explores the notion of a new stage in the literary description of Byzantine homiletic manuscripts, discussing earlier efforts conducted in this area. Antonopoulou sees the codico-liturgical methodology as stimulating and promising for studies in the area of homiletics [*Byzantine Homiletics. An Introduction to the Field and its Study*].

Part 3 turns to the more practical issue of cataloguing the Byzantine manuscripts of local libraries. Efthymios Litsas provides concise and instructive insights into the cataloguing practice of the Athonite monasteries, based on his longstanding experience. Litsas refers to the different monasteries on the Holy Mountain, highlighting their common liturgical life, the state of affairs concerning the libraries and the preservation of the codices. He also makes reference to the obstacles and difficulties of cataloguing work on Mount Athos. Suggestions for improvement are given. The provenance of the Athonite codices is of particular interest, since the traditional codico-liturgical practice as it is now can be compared with earlier stages of monastic life there [*The study of Mount Athos manuscripts: problems and suggestions*]. Joan Lena presents the present-day collection of Byzantine manuscripts in Tirana, Albania. The subject is of great interest, since exact data and insight into the collections of manuscripts were difficult for a long time. Now a first attempt to provide a complete overview and classification of the codices has been made for the whole Tirana collection [*Byzantine Manuscripts in the Central State Archive of Albania (Tirana)*]. Stefan Royé turns to the collection of Byzantine manuscripts of one present-day Greek orthodox monastery, Hiera Mone Karakallou (Mount Athos). Royé provides a sketch of the basic Typikon structure of the printed liturgical books in use in the monastery and considers them in relation to the manuscripts of old. With the help of the Karakallou model, the manner in which the codices are interconnected and presuppose each other in liturgical practice is demonstrated [*The coenobitic Τυπικόν and principles of liturgical codex composition. The liturgical context of the collection of Byzantine manuscripts of Mone Karakallou*].

Part 4 contains two contributions that both clarify the perspectives of the CBM programme. Stefanos Alexopoulos and Dimitrios Tzerpos set out their view on the perspectives of the codico-liturgical method for cataloguing from the perspective of Greek scholarship [*The necessity and challenges of a liturgical series in the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts*]. Marcello Garzaniti does the same from the point of view of Slavic manuscript studies [*Greek and Slavic manuscripts of biblical contents. Annotations toward the construction of new catalogues*].

Interesting to note here is that, in the second year of the programme (2010), the CBM initiative has been augmented with a second project, similarly funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. This has resulted in a closer cooperation with colleagues and academic institutions in Greece.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

'Das Buch, das das Wort Gottes, den *Logos*, enthält, hat den einzigen Zweck, die darin enthaltene Botschaft zu entschlüsseln. Diesem Zweck ordnen sich Formen und Modelle unter, der Textaufbau wird vom Buchtypus und seinem Gebrauch bestimmt.
Das auftreten und die Entwicklung der Modelle stehen in direkter Beziehung zum Gottesdienst und zu den Veränderungen der Liturgie im Laufe der Jahrhunderte'.

Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. Bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, by Axinia Džurova, Regensburg, 2002, p. 10.

Preamble

The leading principles, aim and methodology of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme

CBM Editors

(*Kampen, Tilburg, Amsterdam*)

Abstract
The CBM programme aims at developing a new methodology for cataloguing and investigating Byzantine manuscripts. This methodology will be based on relating the manuscripts to their original environment, that is the liturgical context and practice of the monasteries and churches in which they were manufactured and used. The methodology to be developed by the CBM programms has two foci: a) the integral codex including its full contents, composition, structure and apparatus, and: b) the function of the codex, especially its originally liturgical function. Starting from these two foci ten leading principles have been developed. Further, the main aim of the CBM, and in particular of the new Catalogue of Byzantine manuscripts to be published, is to provide a portal to the worldwide collection of Byzantine manuscripts. The final part of this preamble indicates what editing principles will be followed to realize this purpose.

1. General characteristics

The Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme [CBM] aims to develop new concepts in catalogue presentation and the description of Byzantine manuscripts in their liturgical context[1]. The entries in catalogues of manuscripts are the windows to the handwritten documents. For this reason, the way in which catalogues are organised and presented is of great – if not decisive – importance for the scholars who use them[2]. The CBM programme is developing a method of manuscript cataloguing that draws directly from modern Byzantine codicology, whereby the integral codex is studied in its present condition, both in form and content[3].

The CBM programme is investigating a new methodology for codicological research that is based on relating the manuscripts to their original environment, i.e. the liturgical context and practice of the monasteries and the churches in which they were manufactured and used. The methodology adhered to is based on the notion that the (interconnected) function of books and texts in their liturgical context was the driving factor behind both the internal and external formation of the manuscript corpora. This focus on the liturgical function and architecture of codices generates new perspectives in Byzantine codicology and in connected areas of manuscript studies. CBM has coined this method the *codico-liturgical approach*.

[1] A general introduction to cataloguing manuscripts is provided in O. Mazal, *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 1992.

[2] See M. Richard, J.-M. Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1995³, for basic data concerning different types of catalogues of libraries recording Byzantine (Greek) manuscripts and related literature.

[3] See *Lire le manuscrit médiéval. Observer et décrire*, ed. by P. Géhin, Paris, 2005, for up-to-date views on the discipline of manuscript studies from different points of scholarly interest.

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The research direction indicated above was, in essence, launched by Albert Ehrhard in the context of his outstanding research of hagiographic and homiletic manuscript corpora as set out in *Ueberlieferung und Bestand*, Bd. I-III, 1937-1952, and in the catalogue works of Caspar R. Gregory (*Textkritik* I-III, 1900-1909) and Alfred Rahlfs (*Verzeichnis,* 1914). The approach of the CBM programme also coincides with the liturgical axioms adhered to by many Eastern Orthodox academics (see, for instance, the Greek collected papers: *Hierourgein to Euaggelion,* Athens: Church of Greece, 2004[4]), and corresponds in a striking way to research developments in the world of Slavic manuscript studies, in which research of Byzantine manuscripts has evolved in a manner very close to what we call the codico-liturgical approach (see the research history of this discipline in Marcello Garzaniti, *Die altslavischen Version der Evangelien*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2001). Since Albert Ehrhard's classification work a century ago, the scope of research has widened and new vistas have opened in the field of Byzantine manuscripts to include not only biblical, but also liturgical, hymnological, homiletic, hagiographic and ascetical codex groups. At present, the interdisciplinary character of Byzantine codicology should no longer be neglected.

Research of the Byzantine manuscripts in liturgical context should ideally involve all libraries and repositories worldwide, comprising codices from the fourth to the twentieth centuries[5] that contain collections of Byzantine texts[6]. Presently, the CBM programme is developing a new type of catalogue of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices, the first volume of the new catalogue series of distinct codex groups (for an overview, see the CBM Publication Plan at the end of this volume). The catalogue will be published in printed book form first and later also online. The new catalogue will create, one could say, a universal collection of Byzantine manuscripts, which of course, incorporates the many extant 'local' collections. The challenge facing codicological research and cataloguing that is carried out on a global scale is not losing sight of the essential aspects of each codex and its place and function in the original environments.

2. Leading principles of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts programme

There are ten codico-liturgical principles, which form the assumptions of the applied methodology of the CBM research[7]. These principles emerged from the following two interconnecting research *foci*: 1) the

[4] *Ἱερουργεῖν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. Η Ἁγία Γραφὴ στὴν Ὀρθοδόξη Λατρεία* [Worshipping the Evangelion. The Holy Scripture in Orthodox Worship], (Πρακτικὰ Ε' Πανελληνίου Λειτουργικοῦ Συμποσίου, Ποιμαντικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 10), Athens: Church of Greece, 2004.

[5] The traditional confines of manuscript research (Gregory, Aland, Rahlfs, Ehrhard and others), in which the scope of manuscript and textual studies was limited to the fourth to the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries, is broadened in modern Byzantine codicology (see L. Politis, *Ὁδηγὸς καταλόγου χειρογράφων*, Athens, 1961, pp. 41-44 (Ἐξέλιξις τῆς γραφῆς 9ος -19ος αἰών); A. Tselikas, *Δέκα αἰῶνες Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς (9ος - 19ος αἰ.)*, Athens, 1977; A. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg, 2002).

[6] The most complete overview of libraries and holdings that store Byzantine manuscripts on a global scale in book form is provided in M. Richard, J.-M. Olivier 1995[3].

[7] D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, Cambridge, 2008; P. Géhin 2005; B. M. Metzger, B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, 4th edition, New York-Oxford, 2005; D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, 1, (Septuaginta Supplement), Göttingen, 2004; A. Džurova 2002; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts*, New Haven and London, 1995; O. Mazal, 1992; P. Canart, *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Una rassegna bibliografica* (Littera antiqua, 7), Città del Vaticano, 1991; G. Cavallo, H. Muehler, *Greek Book-hands of the Early Byzantine Periods A. D. 300-800*, London, 1987; E. G. Turner, (rev. by P. J. Parsons), *Greek manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., London, 1987; R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford, 1981; B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*, New York and Oxford, 1981; A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris, 3rd edition, 1975; E. Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca*, (Studi bizantini e neogreci), Padoue, 1973; H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, München, 1989; L. Politis, *Ὁδηγὸς καταλόγου χειρογράφων*, Athens, 1961; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'Étude*

integral *codex* (κῶδιξ) or *manuscript* (χειρόγραφος) including its conception, full contents, composition, structure and apparatus[8]; and 2) the *function* of the codex[9], especially the original *liturgical function* of the codices in Eastern Orthodox churches and monasteries of Byzantine provenance[10]. Below we set out the ten relevant codico-liturgical principles.

Principle 1
A codex is studied in its entirety

The CBM focuses the attention on the *integral codex*. All incorporated texts are considered together in their given arrangement, without isolating particular books or preferred texts (for critical editions or other scientific ends), thus avoiding the 'disintegration' that is the result of academic specialisation[11]. For example, the Gospel according to Matthew is studied within the context of the Tetraevangelion corpus, in which each of the four Gospels is transmitted. Academic practice is such that it divides the manuscript corpora into many specialised research areas and even these specialised areas are again divided up and isolated from the whole, the organic liturgical reality to which they belong. Beside such specialised studies, which have their merit, a research endeavour on a comprehensive and interdisciplinary level is required.

Principle 2
The codico-liturgical framework is of decisive importance in codex studies

Central attention is paid to the original *liturgical function* of the individual codex and codex groups, which was a determinative influence on the process of codex and corpus formation. The consolidation and standardisation of codex forms, whereby liturgical 'practice' (i.e. the liturgical programme which was determined by the Typikon) became a determinative factor in the formation and structuring of codices, is also explored. Evidence of the influence of liturgical practice is provided in the Tetraevangelion codex, which contains a liturgical apparatus, the Evangelion codex (a recomposed liturgical Tetraevangelion), the Praxapostolos with liturgical apparatus, the Apostolos (a recomposed liturgical Praxapostolos), the Psalterion with kathismata, and the Prophetologion readings which are found in various liturgical codices (Triodion, Pentekostarion and Menaia). Besides codices of biblical contents, homiletical, hagiographic, hymnographic and ascetical works were compiled into codex corpora for liturgical use[12].

des Manuscrits Grecs, Paris, 1954 ; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vols. I-X, (Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, First Series, Parts I-X), Boston, 1934-1939.; V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2. Aufl., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1911-1913 [repr. 1978]; B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca, sive de ortu et progressu litterarum graecorum et de variis omnium saeculorum Scriptionis Graecae generibus*, Parisiis, 1708. [repr. 1982].

[8] See L. Politis 1961, P. Géhin (Ed.) 2005 for the technological details in the making of codices.

[9] For a general picture concerning the function of codices in Byzantium see the essays by H. Y. Gamble 1995; D. Burton-christie, *The Word in the Desert. Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism*, New York-Oxford, 1993; H. Hunger 1989; I. Sevčenko, C. Cyril Mango, [with contrib. by Nigel G. Wilson and others], *Byzantine books and bookmen*, Washington, 1975. (cf. B. M. Metzger, B. D. Ehrman 2005, pp. 21-23).

[10] A comprehensive history of the liturgical function of Byzantine codices still needs to be written.

[11] It is clear to all experts that sometimes (and more often than one would like) the integral state of codices is problematic. Codices may have been divided into two or more parts, and one or more of these parts may have been lost or migrated to various countries and locations; many codices came down to us in fragmented form (from very small pieces, single folia, to larger segments), partly damaged by fire or water or dried up in the course of time; some codices may have never been finished; codices were re-written (palimpsests); two different codices may have been united and bound together; some codices were reconstructed; two or more different copyists from different times, places and with varying capabilities may have worked on the enclosed texts.

[12] It should be noted that works of classical literature (in Greek), outside the liturgical context, were transmitted in Byzantine manuscripts partly integrated in mixed codices (classical and ecclesiastical works together) and partly separate (codices consisting of classical corpora only).

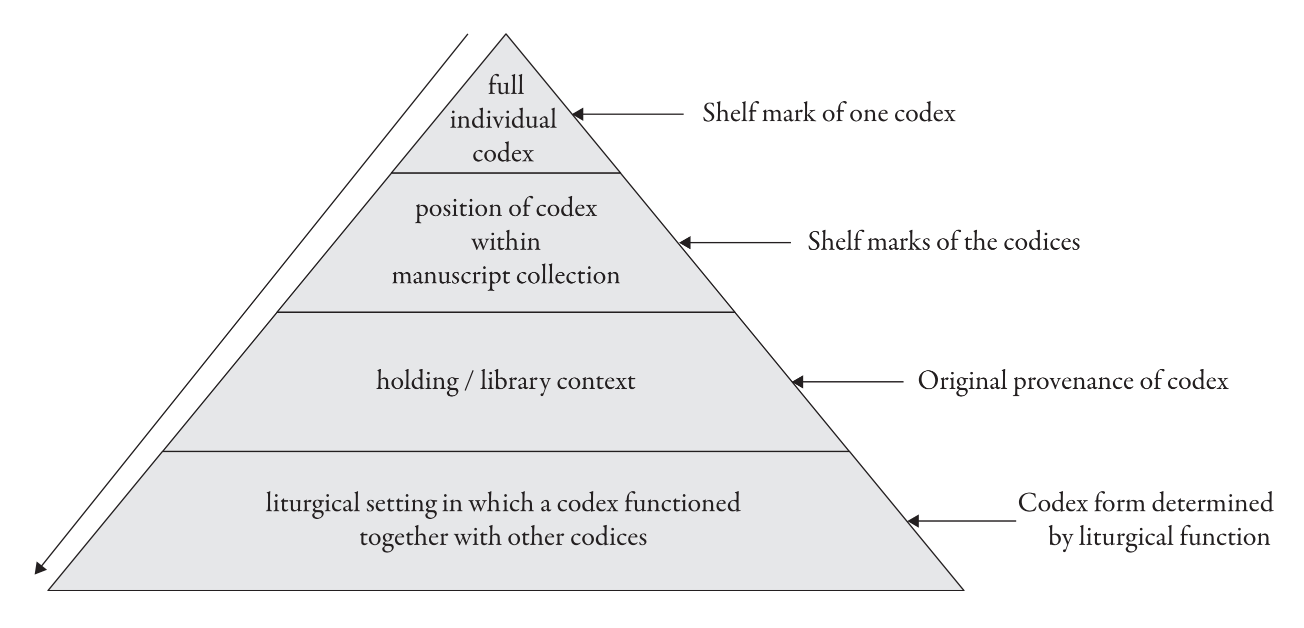
Principle 3
Attention is given to the library context of the codices

A third focus is the recognition of the fact that a given codex was originally stored in a monastic, ecclesiastical or patriarchal library. Codices were placed side by side on the shelves and often nearby other related or interrelated codex groups, all of which contribute to an exclusive collection of biblical, liturgical, hymnographic, hagiographic, homiletic, ascetical corpora. These codices were originally employed together, for which reason we say that the codices are interfunctional.

Principle 4
A codex is studied together with other closely related codices

Any given codex is explicitly or implicitly connected with other types of codices, which were either presupposed, or used together during the services of the Byzantine liturgy. It is in the Typikon that the principles for this interconnected usage between the various codices are laid down[13]. For example, the Evangelion codex is used together with the Tetraevangelion (see the references in Typikon codex Evergetis of the 11th/12th century), the Apostolos together with the Praxapostolos (see the references in the same Typikon Evergetis), and the Psalterion with the Prophetologion, Menaion, Panegyrikon, Synaxarion, Asketika and other codices. Cross-references to the other codices were also included in the codices themselves: biblical (there are references to the Apostolos in an Evangelion), liturgical (in an Euchologion there are references to the readings (*anagnoseis*) from the Apostolos and Evangelion), and hagiographa and ascetica (in the Triodion and Pentekostarion). The presupposed inner cohesion between codex classes is made visible in particular codex forms. For example, the Apostolos and Evangelion were brought together into one Apostolo-Evangelion codex.

Diagram to illustrate the CBM principles (1-4) in context



[13] See the contributions in this collection of papers by Stefanos Alexopoulos and Stefan Royé.

Principle 5
Codico-liturgical pragmatism is taken into account

Each manuscript (χειρόγραφος) is unique, not one handwritten copy (ἀντίγραφος) is exactly the same. This well-known statement is true for all Byzantine manuscripts, but is especially applicable to codices which arose from liturgical use. The *empirical* character of codex formation is placed central stage here. Particular attention is paid to the specific calligraphic choices behind the selection and composition of the incorporated books and texts in codices in relation to the technological and formal construction of the manuscripts. For many of the codices the 'process of conception' behind their formation evolved gradually from liturgical practice and this factor determined their form and design in far-reaching respects. A very characteristic phenomenon in Byzantine codicology is the construction of mixed compilations ('codices miscellanei'), which include different categories of books and texts, seemingly brought together without any clear organisational principle. An extremely large number of such *pandecta* codices exist, structured according to the "free choice" of the compiler. This neglected group of mixed compilations should be studied thoroughly with regard to compositional principles and structures behind the codices (or for arrangements without any clear organisation)[14].

Principle 6
Accumulation of new texts throws light on codex conception and composition

The phenomenon of the on-going creation and accumulation of materials and their compilation into new codices is explored, a process which may be referred to as 'dynamic codex formation'. This accumulation of materials (without any temporal or geographical limitation) is especially clear in the codicological groups which are closely related to the biblical corpora: *liturgica* (composition of new akolouthiai or services on the basis of traditional models), *hymnologica* (new hymns, troparia, kontakia and canons), *hagiographa* (new lives of saints, encomia, martyria), and *ascetica* (new collections of apophthegmata and logoi). But also biblical corpora were continually reshaped and modelled in different liturgical and hermeneutic forms. This process of accumulation of materials in the Byzantine epoch is also seen in biblical corpora ('canonisation') of early Christianity and ancient Israel.

Principle 7
Acknowledgement of the central importance of liturgical and hymnological apparatuses

The creation and development of codices in a liturgical context and for liturgical ends generated different instruments for example, the synaxarion and menologion tables, which were added to the head or end of manuscripts or intra-textually as instructions and aids for readers and celebrants, the marginal numbering systems of pericopes, the concordances and references, the notes in the upper, side and lower margins, the ekphonetic signs and other musical notation systems. This seemingly secondary aspect of the codices is considered of primary importance for CBM research[15].

[14] Today the need for research of the so-called mixed group of codices is an acknowledged demand in modern Byzantine codicology. The same is true for the study of this phenomenon in other (parallel) branches of manuscript work (Slavic codicology for instance).

[15] See the contributions in this collection of papers concerning the liturgical apparatus in Tetraevangelion codices: M. Garzaniti, 'The Gospel Book and its liturgical function in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition'; and S. Royé, 'The cohesion between the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the Byzantine liturgical pericope system in Tetraevangelion codices'.

Principle 8
The liturgical transformation of codex forms is a fundamental phenomenon

The liturgical transformation of the codices took place throughout centuries of transmission. Long-established standard codex forms originating in liturgical contexts were transformed for new liturgical ends. For instance, the Tetraevangelion codex was liturgically reshaped into the Evangelion, the Praxapostolos codex into the Apostolos, the codex of 150 psalms into the liturgical Psalterion and nine odes, combined use of Pentateuch/Oktateuch, Prophets and Proverbs codices into the Prophetologion. The latter codex form was transposed to and integrated into the Triodion, Pentakostarion and Menaia.

Principle 9
The codex is studied within a codex-based transmission history

A given codex type, for instance a Tetraevangelion, should be investigated alongside the history of transmission of other identical and similar codex types. Codices considered as whole entities ('vehicles') of information ('messages') are studied in their entirety (see principle 1). This means the inclusion of all textual items that were intended by the copyist to be a part of the manuscript. The codices in which a standard grouping of materials took place are worth being studied in a *codex-historical* perspective (according to the ages and places of the origin of these codices). For instance, Tetraevangelion codices from different centuries should be investigated in their historical, liturgical context. Finally, codex-historical research can be set up for the earliest period of Christianity, from the second to the third/fourth centuries[16]. Such a holistic approach will be fruitful, in our opinion, because it sets the pattern of codex research, which, we presuppose, is very akin to codico-liturgical evolution in early and later Byzantine epochs[17].

This method is completely different from the current scholarly practice of freely isolating 'individual texts' from codices. Codices are seen as mere containers of texts for specialised study. In this way codices have been 'plundered', one could say, not only of textual items, but also of variant readings, linguistic elements and finally, to put it rather sharply, bereft of their original liturgical, functional and contextual meaning.

Principle 10
Palaeo-Christian liturgical codicology is connected to Byzantine codicology

The Byzantine codico-liturgical evolution, which commenced at the beginning of the fourth century (A.D.), also presupposes a palaeo-Christian codico-liturgical stage, since Byzantine codex and scroll forms emanated directly from codex and scroll forms that stemmed from prototypes in early Christian manuscript tradition (the first three centuries)[18]. Despite intensive and careful research, a pressing question still awaits a clear answer: how were the scrolls and codices of the OT conceived and produced with an eye to their liturgical function[19]? Another intriguing question is: from which *archetype* scroll

[16] See D. Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, Oxford, 2000; C. Horton (ed.), *The Earliest Gospels. The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels – the Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P 45*, London and New York, 2004.

[17] See G. Florovsky, 'The Predicament of the Christian Historian', in *Religion and Culture. Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich*, ed. by W. Leibrecht, London, 1959, pp. 140-166, esp p. 151: 'No history without a retrospect, that is, without perspective', p. 151.

[18] See B. M. Metzger, B. D. Ehrman 2005, 'The Forms of Ancient Books', pp. 11-16.

[19] Works concerned with the earliest stages of Christian codicology did not pay much attention to the liturgical factor. See D. C. Parker 2008; B. M. Metzger, B. D. Ehrman 2005; D. Fraenkel 2004; T. C. Skeat, 'The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels', *New Testament Studies*, 43 (1997), pp. 1-34; C. H. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*,

forms were the first Christian OT codices formatted (scrolls of the Law in Greek, a Isaiah scroll[20], or scrolls containing the four great Prophets, or the sixteen Prophets together, or maybe a different form altogether)? Also, how were OT corpora presupposed in NT references to the OT Scriptures? How do the titles of books incorporated into OT corpora reflect the *form* of these scrolls[21]? Do the book-titles *Nomos*, *Prophets*, *Book of Psalms*, and other titles of the Scriptures (*Wisdom books*) correspond to fixed scroll corpora of the first Christian era[22], the time in which NT corpora of books were created and the corpora were formatted? And how were the Gospels and the other early Christian corpora conceived and used in liturgical gatherings[23]? Finally, but certainly not our last question, how were the Gospels manufactured with regard to the liturgical practices of the earliest stages of the Church, written on rolls of leather (*diphtera*)[24], parchment (*membrāna*)[25] as in accordance with ancient Hebrew codico-liturgical customs[26], or on papyrus (*papyros*)[27]?

Although the emergence of early Christian scrolls and codices lies deep in the dark realms of remote ecclesiastical history, such a liturgical origin and hypothesis is highly fascinating and certainly not improbable[28]. This assumption has already been outlined by different groups of scholars (papyrologists, palaeographers, codicologists, OT and NT textual critics, liturgists and archaeologists), and the roots and characteristics of communal prayer, reading and teaching of the scriptures in churches and monasteries

Oxford, 1983 (esp. Intr. pp. 1-4); J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris, 1976 ; E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Pennsylvania, 1977; T. C. Skeat, 'Early Christian Book-Production: Papyri and Manuscripts', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, G. W. H. Lampe, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 54-79; C. H. Roberts, 'P. Yale 1 and the Early Christian Book', in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, (American Studies in Papyrology, vol. one), New Haven, Conn., 1966, pp. 25-28; C. C. McCown, 'The Earliest Christian Books', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 6.2 (1943), pp. 22-31; C. C. McCown, 'Codex and Roll in the New Testament', *Harvard Theological Review*, 34.4 (1941), pp. 219-250; T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Litteratur*, Berlin, 1882.

[20] The reference to the 'book of Isaiah the Prophet' in the NT corpus (Luke. 4. 17) is very telling. Of particular interest here is that the reading from the Prophet took place in the synagogue of Nazareth and was performed by Jesus Christ, and that a homiletic explanation followed. The verbs 'unrolling' (ἀναπτύσσω) and 'rolling up' (πτύσσω) indicate that the book ('*to biblion*') was a scroll, not a codex. At the time of the writing of the Gospel of Luke and the other Gospels the transition from roll to codex had probably not yet begun (the accomplishment of the first stage in the creation and editing of NT corpora is dated towards the end of the first / beginning of the second century). See D. C. Parker 2008, p. 14.

[21] It should be noted that the denotation 'to biblion' refers in OT and NT scriptures to indicate in the first place the contents of a handwritten text body (*soma*), and in the second place the book form (format), in fact the scroll form, not yet the codex form.

[22] Cf. L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift. I. Die Namen der Heiligen Schriften*, (17. Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1893-4), Budapest, 1894, pp. 1-47; and L. Blau, *Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen und zum biblischen Litteratur-und Textgeschichte*, Straßburg, 1902 for research of scroll contents, forms and formats.

[23] One early Christian witness (second century), Justin Martyr, strongly confirms the liturgical hypothesis on three levels: (1) liturgical prayer and the Eucharist, (2) liturgical readings on Sundays, and (3) liturgical teaching on the basis of the readings in liturgical context. In his *First Apology*, ch. 61: baptism and prayer, the 'hypomnemoneumata' are called 'evangelia' with regard to the liturgical formula; in ch. 65, 66, 67: Eucharist, prayer, the 'memoirs of the apostles' and the writings of the prophets are read to a common assembly on Sundays as long as time permits, along with verbal instruction). Fundamental to this subject: G. Filias, *Λειτουργική*, Τόμος Α', Athens, 2006; G. Filias, *Παράδοση καὶ ἐξέλιξη στὴ Λατρεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 2006.

[24] Cf. L. Blau 1902, still rich in evidence and examples from many biblical and extra-biblical sources.

[25] Cf. R. Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment*, Leeds, 1975.

[26] Cf. B. M. Metzger, B. D. Ehrman 2005, 'The Materials of Ancient Books', pp. 4-11 (and references), to be supplemented by C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, ed. and transl. by N. de Lange, Cambridge, 2002; L. Blau 1902.

[27] Cf. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1974.

[28] Short evaluations of the status quo of manuscript research on early Christian codices and rolls in fragmented form, are provided by David C Parker, Metzger/Ehrman, Roberts/Skeat. It appears that both papyrus and parchment were used in the earliest stages of the Christian Church, and that both scroll and codex formats were used for the incorporation of biblical texts, although the codex form was more dominant. See the fourth-century scroll, Leipzig, Papyri Inv. Nr. 39, (nach 338 A. D.), in A. Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis* 1914, p. 99 (a more extended description in D. Fraenkel 2004, pp. 193-194), in which the rudiments of an early Byzantine 'Psalterion' (Ps. 30, 5-14; 30, 18-31, 1; 32, 18-33, 9; 33, 13-34.2; 34, 9-17; 34, 24-55) are preserved in roll form on papyrus, the psalm texts written on the verso side.

have been intensively discussed[29]. Further back in history the OT scriptures also functioned in liturgical context, and similarly received their forms and formats from liturgical practice and tradition[30], first only in scroll form[31], but later (eighth/ninth centuries A.D.) also in the form of codices[32], although the scriptures used in synagogues remarkably remained in scroll form[33]. The scroll form has been 'maintained' or re-introduced in Byzantine codicology in the form of 'liturgical rolls', which present the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and the Presanctified Gifts for the period of the Great Fast.

CBM is exploring the idea that there existed a liturgical codicology *avant la lettre* in early Christendom, before Byzantine codicology (καλλιγραφία) commenced at the beginning of the fourth century. Scribal activities in the library of Caesarea in Palestine was maybe of great importance for the transmission of both OT and NT corpora in Greek stemming from the earliest Christian times. One may speak of a palaeo-Christian or, if one prefers, a proto-Byzantine codicology.

3. The main aim of CBM: Providing a portal to the worldwide collection of Byzantine manuscripts

Why construct a new catalogue of Byzantine manuscripts? How is a new catalogue to be related to other existing catalogues? And another crucial question is: how can we construct a catalogue on the basis of the principles enumerated in the chapter above? The aim of CBM is to translate these codico-liturgical principles into the presentation form of the new Catalogue, so as to be able to present the manuscripts in a manner more appropriate to our purpose. The new Catalogue will be built on previous catalogues (both local and specialised), and is considered complementary to these catalogues, providing alternative entrances to the same and newly-discovered handwritten sources of whatever content: biblical (OT & NT corpora), liturgical, hymnological, homiletic, hagiographic or ascetical. Below we present some sug-

[29] See G. Rouwhorst, 'The reading of Scripture in Early Christian Liturgy', in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem. Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster*, ed. by L. V. Rutgers, Leuven, 2002, pp. 305-331, for an assessment of the methodological complexities and ambiguities in studying the scarce and scattered sources of this early period.

[30] For this liturgical viewpoint see the Hebrew codicological studies: L. Blau, 'Ueber den Einfluss des althebräischen Buchwesens auf die Originale und auf die ältesten Handschriften der Septuaginta, des Neusen Testaments und der Hexapla', in *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag A. Berliners*, Frankfurt a. M, 1903, pp. 41-49. See especially p. 49: 'Bei der Behandlung der besprochenen Fragen haben sich die Forscher dem Stande gemäss von dem klassischen Buchwesen leiten lassen. Die Septuaginta, das Neue Testament, und die Hexapla (wenigstens zum Theil) sind aber Produkte solcher Kreise, in denen hebräische Bibelrollen das "Buch" bildeten; es wird also anzunehmen sein, dass diese Werke auch in ihrer äussere Gestalt von den hebräische Büchern abhingen'.

[31] See L. Blau 1894 and the instructive discussion of the biblical and postbiblical (rabbinical) nomenclature of the Scriptures and the related scroll corpora. Cf. J. Fuerst, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Überlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch. Neue Untersuchungen über Namen, Eintheilung, Verfasser, Sammlung, Umfang und religiösen Charakter der alttestamentlichen Schriften sowie über Geschichte des Kanon's bei Palästinischen und Hellenistischen Juden*, In acht Abschnitten, Leipzig, 1868.

[32] See the catalogues in which ancient collections of Hebrew scrolls (on leather and parchment) and codices (on parchment) containing various scriptural corpora are described, for instance, A. Harvey, H. L. Strack, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, erster und zweiter Teil, St. Petersburg-Leipzig, 1875, [I. Thorarollen: A. Lederrollen (1-5), B. Pergamentrollen (6-47); II. Handschriften in Buchform: A. Ohne Uebersetzung (48-123), B. Uebersetzungen (124-146)], with an eye to the selection of biblical contents, composition of incorporated texts, formats, liturgical apparatus and other relevant comparative data. Famous Hebrew manuscripts are the pandecta bibles including the complete OT Scriptures in one codex, the codex of Aleppo (eighth century) and codex Leningradensis (ninth century).

[33] Cf. L. Blau 1894 and L. Blau 1902 for research of the contents, forms and form studies concerning the composition of the five-fold scroll form of the Torah needed for the synagogue services; further L. Blau 1903; M. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften, deren Sammlungen und Verzeichnisse*, Leipzig, 1897. [2nd ed. Jerusalem, 1937]; L. Blau, 'Das Schreiben der Sefer Thora', *Soncino-Blätter, Beiträge zur Kunde des Jüdischen Buches*, 1 (1925-1926), pp. 16-28; M. Beit–Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: towards a comparative codicology*, (The Panizzi lectures; 1992), London, 1993; C. Sirat 2002.

gestions as to the manner in which the CBM methodology will be applied during the construction of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in liturgical context. It is our intention that the new Catalogue should provide an appropriate 'portal', a key to the worldwide collection of Byzantine manuscripts, but one that serves the purpose set out in the paragraphs above.

Parameter 1
The Catalogue provides an authentic and complete picture of each codex type

The Catalogue will provide a complete overview of all extant codices of one (similar) type. CBM concentrates on the integral codex *form* (τύπος) and thus each volume of the Catalogue will be a direct entrance unto all codices of the same type, e.g. Tetraevangelion or Evangelion codex forms (Volume 1). In order to facilitate the quick identification of a complete codex form, each manuscript is given a specific signature, a *codex type code* (CTC). The Tetraevangelion codices receive the siglum T (Gregory/Aland e), the Evangelion E (Gregory/Aland *l*). The CTC is followed by the library or holding shelf mark, and then a cluster of standard parameters e.g. the age (or date), the writing material (papyrus, parchment, paper), the measurements (format), the number of folia, number of columns, number of lines per page, in order to indicate briefly the palaeographical and codicological identity of the codex. In many existing catalogues (specialised, as well as local catalogues) the user is often insufficiently informed about the codex's precise contents, the scope, exact composition, or included apparatuses, which are of decisive importance for the determination of the codices and their historical evaluation.

In the Catalogue, one sees at a glance the quantity of manuscripts of one type (e.g. all Tetraevangelia). This serves to ascertain and demonstrate the extent and scope of the process of standardisation and consolidation in a qualitative respect. Moreover, one gains an overview of their geographical and historical distribution. The quantity of extant manuscripts can tell us something of the intensity by which a certain codex type was used.

Parameter 2
The Catalogue presents different but interconnected groups of identified codex types

The Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts presents not only codices of one or two correlated types (e.g. Tetraevangelion & Evangelion), but also different groups of identified codex types. The various codex forms are correlated by means of their combined liturgical function, the Typikon being the book which prescribes and coordinates their 'interfunctionality'. In effect, the first volume of the Catalogue, containing the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices of libraries all over the world, is only legitimate if in conjunction with the other volumes that follow it.

Parameter 3
The Catalogue shows the library-holding context

The Catalogue will be structured according to location and library, in alphabetical order. We will catalogue all the codices in the same form for each library. The first edition of the Catalogue will focus on the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codex types. Provided for each codex are the place name, library name, holding and shelf mark, in a fashion similar to Richard-Olivier's *Répertoire* and Rahlfs-Fraenkel's *Verzeichnis* of the Greek OT manuscripts. In this manner a catalogue will be built up that departs from the location/library/holding, provides an overview of all codices with the same form found in that library or holding, and allows us to gain deeper insight into the characteristics of the codex's physical form in connection to other codices of the same type found in its vicinity.

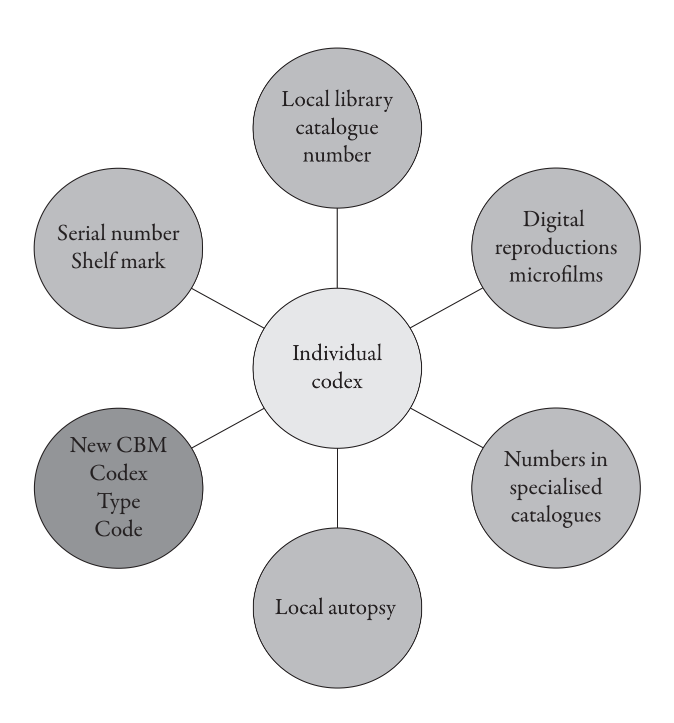
Parameter 4
The sources of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts

The sources used to locate the manuscripts to be included in the Catalogue are primarily the already existing specialised catalogues (in the case of NT corpora – the catalogue data provided by Constantin von Tischendorf, Frederick H. A. Scrivener, Caspar René Gregory, Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Ernst von Dobschuetz, Kurt Aland and his collaborators of the INTF (the Virtual Manuscript Room). References to these catalogues will be provided. Similarly, references to the local catalogues of individual libraries and holdings that are available will be provided[34]. This referential system will direct the user to more precise information elsewhere, for the purposes of more detailed research. In the case that codex data are not available, or are insufficient or incomplete, other sources will be employed to gain the necessary information (articles, specific studies of the manuscripts, microfilms, digital reproductions, librarian communications, etc.) and finally autopsy if all other means are exhausted.

The CBM catalogues do not intend to provide complete and exhaustive descriptions of each manuscript. For this one can consult the many local library catalogues (see the catalogues of Erich Lamberz of Vatopediou on Mount Athos, Matoula Kouroupou and Paul Géhin of the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul, Herbert Hunger and Christian Hannick of the National Library of Vienna, Georgi Parpulov of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore/Maryland, and so on). Instead we indicate briefly the main palaeographical-codicological characteristics of each codex.

At the end of this Collected Papers we will present the perspectives and further plans of the CBM Programme.

Diagram showing the elements of the new catalogue structure



[34] The existing catalogues on which the present catalogue(s) are based will be assessed on their qualities, advantages and disadvantages in the prolegomena to the catalogues.

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The study of the historical-liturgical context of the Bible: A bridge between 'East' and 'West'?

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Abstract

This article offers a discussion of the hermeneutic and textual implications of the CBM project in the context of East and West dialogue. In the 'Western' scholarly world of exegesis there is a great reluctance of the 'Eastern' handling of the Bible as a book of faith with an authoritative role in the Christian church. Especially when it comes to the evaluation of the patristic literature or to the role of historical-critical methods in biblical studies there still is a big gap between the East and the West. The CBM project can function as a bridge. The project shows that it is important to take the manuscripts seriously as liturgical texts, that is as parts of lectionaries or as combined with homilies. This new approach, studying the complete codex and not merely a selection of texts removed from the codex, raises the question about the influence of a liturgical factor in the codex formation: how far does this liturgical function reach back in time? And can we also learn something from it in finding the right approach of Biblical texts themselves? It may be useful to pay more attention to the fact that already in a very early stage of their transmission many biblical texts functioned within a liturgical framework. Texts like Nehemiah 8, 1-8 support this view.

1. Introduction

In the history of modern biblical research emphasis is often laid on the different views and approaches that oppose or exclude each other. Diachronic research, which explains the questions that arise when reading the text by looking at the history of the text, is opposed to synchronic research that focuses on the literary structure. As a rule scholars on both sides accuse each other of not doing the text justice and of being subjective or speculative. In historical research of the Bible and the ages it covers, the controversy exists between those who accept the Bible as a reliable source of historical information and those who only accept external archaeological evidence as a valid source for argumentation. These seemingly never-ending controversies sometimes say more about the methods used and the users themselves, than about the Bible as the object of their research. In many cases, the personal history of the researcher proves to be decisive for the choices made and explains why one reacts against other approaches in the way one does.

A better approach – and luckily many colleagues will agree – is to use the different methods complementarily. Every text raises its own questions, and different approaches are required to find the answers to these questions. A simple criterion for selecting the most suitable approach is to choose the one which will bring the most satisfactory results. This, however, sounds too good to be true. For, before starting any exegesis, it should be clear what the character of the text we have before us is. Here another controversy may arise: readers of the Bible may differ in their attitude towards the text. Do they feel that they have the freedom to treat it like any other text? Or should it be treated as a sacred text? Or should one at the very least take into account that this text functions as such?

We may note a further controversy which plays an important role in the often complicated relationship between Western and Eastern ways of reading the Bible. In the Western scholarly world of exegesis there is a great reluctance to handle the Bible as a book of faith that plays an authoritative role in the Christian church. This is illustrated very well by contemporary discussions within the Society of Biblical

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 15-22.

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Literature. Some members criticise the tendency among confessional colleagues to introduce matters of faith and ethics into scholarly discussions. One Jewish member was shocked when a Christian scholar even attempted to convert him to Christianity. He saw this, as other scholars with him, as a return to a situation that existed before the Enlightenment, when biblical exegesis was subordinated to the study of the dogmas of the church. These scholars do not want to lose their freedom to study the Bible as they would any other object of research and they are convinced that their method – that of remaining an 'outsider' – is also the best one to uncover the Bible's secrets. One of the fruits of the Western historical critical approach is that it helps the modern reader to differentiate between the text's message and the way in which the text was formed under the influence of its own time and culture.

On the other hand, if we take a more serious look at the way the Bible is studied in Eastern (Orthodox) circles, we encounter more than a return to pre-Enlightenment orthodoxy. The Eastern exegesis of the Bible as a book of faith, which should be read within the framework of the church and its tradition, allows the modern reader to realise that the Bible cannot be understood without the commitment of the reader. A very important argument for this approach is that it is not something brought in from outside. It is something that emerges from the Bible itself. The Bible itself teaches us that its meaning cannot be grasped if the reader does not have some kind of relationship to the subject matter. It certainly goes too far to state that only someone who believes in God and Jesus Christ can really understand the Bible, but it can (at least) be seen as an advantage if one has an affinity with it. This implies that one knows what it means to be inspired by a text and, therefore, leaves open the possibility that the Bible is part of a living and on-going tradition.

For far too long scholarly research of the Bible in the East and in the West has been two worlds apart. Only recently have more serious and persistent attempts been made to bring these two worlds together, or at least into serious discussion with one another. Pioneering work has been conducted in this regard by, among others, scholars such as James Dunn, Ulrich Luz and Anatoly Alexeev. Since 1998 they have regularly organised conferences dedicated to this dialogue between East and West and have published the proceedings[1]. The volumes containing the lectures and summaries of the discussions are very helpful in gaining a better understanding of both sides, from each other's perspective. They also make clear, however, that it is still very difficult to really interact. One not only comes across different opinions about the interpretation and authority of biblical texts, but one also notices that the fields of interest are very diverse. This is especially clear when it comes to the study of patristic literature, which is dominant in Eastern studies and only marginal in modern Western exegetical literature[2], and also where the evaluation of historical-critical methods is concerned. From the orthodox point of view it is still customary to state that this modern approach to the biblical texts lacks a fitting respect for the Bible, has added very little to the application of the texts, and has primarily caused confusion[3]. Recently some cautious attempts have been made by orthodox scholars like Theodore

[1] J. D. G. Dunn and others, eds., *Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive* (Akten der west-östlichen Neutestamentler/innen-Symposiums von Neamț vom 4.-11. September 1998, (WUNT 130), Tübingen, 2000; I. Z. Dimitrov and others (eds.), *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht* (Zweite europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenconferenz im Rilakloster vom 8.-15. September 2001 (WUNT 174), Tübingen, 2004; A. A. Alexeev and others (eds.), *Einheit der Kirche im Neuen Testament* (Dritte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sankt Petersburg, 24.-31. August 2005, (WUNT 218), Tübingen, 2008; H. Klein and others (eds.), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Vierte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sambata de Sus, 4.-8. August 2007, (WUNT 249), Tübingen, 2009.

[2] Note, for instance, the very different answers to the question of the meaning of the church fathers for the interpretation of the Bible by V. Mihov, 'The Actuality of Church Fathers' biblical Exegesis', in J. D. G. Dunn 2000, pp. 3-28 and U. Luz, 'Die Bedeutung der Kirchenväter für die Auslegung der Bibel', in J. D. G. Dunn, 2000, pp. 29-52.

[3] Cf. J. A. McGuckin, 'Recent Biblical Hermeneutics in Patristic Perspective: The Tradition of Orthodoxy', in *Sacred Text and Interpretation: Perspectives in Orthodox Biblical Studies. Papers in Honor of Professor Savas Agourides*, ed. by T. G. Stylianopoulos, Brookline, 2006, pp. 293-324.

Stylianopoulos[4], to incorporate less offensive methods and results. Not many Western scholars, however, will take him seriously when he speaks of the 'virtual bankruptcy' of critical academic biblical studies, which,

> '... can be overcome only by vigorous self-criticism that leads to serious regard for the authority and theological claims of Scripture, the legitimacy of traditional approaches to the Bible, such as kerygmatic, devotional, liturgical, and doctrinal approaches, and an epistemological humility according to which autonomous reason and imagination do not necessarily have the last word regarding what the Scriptures are all about'[5].

Simon Crisp is probably right when he notes that this may only bring a scholar like Stylianopoulos close to conservative evangelical writers[6] and not to Western scholars who are convinced that they can only conduct their work free from clerical authority.

2. An alternative, third way: the study of the Bible as a liturgical text

It is clear that when it comes to biblical exegesis, building a bridge between the Eastern and Western approaches will not be easy. Asking Western scholars for some kind of 'conversion', as they might interpret the appeal by Stylianopoulos, or stimulating Eastern scholars to perform sacrilege, as they might consider the invitation to use critical methods, will not bring us closer together. There may, however, be an alternative, third way. Taking seriously the best of the Eastern and Western approaches to the Bible, has brought me to the idea that both can be combined in a scholarly approach that studies the Bible as a liturgical text, not only today, but also at a very early stage in its transmission. This idea is based on work being carried out on a new catalogue of Byzantine manuscripts. In Western exegetical research the Byzantine manuscripts comprise only a small part where textual criticism is concerned. Their relevance is regarded as being marginal. They are considered to be relatively late and variant readings are not usually taken into account when trying to reconstruct the original biblical text. The manuscripts are merely regarded as testimonies to the early history of reception, or associated with conservative debates about the rehabilitation of the *textus receptus*. To this is added the problem that there are so many Byzantine manuscripts and that there is no consensus among scholars about the way that these should be classified, in families or lines of transmission. 'It is customary', David Parker remarks, when it comes to the topic of Byzantine manuscripts and especially the lectionaries, 'to note the paucity of material'[7]. In his opinion the lament is justified. There is certainly no lack of material. The problem is the classification. And in the conclusions to her survey of the Greek lectionaries of the New Testament Carroll Osburn remarks:

> '1. A critical edition of the lectionary is greatly needed, based on full collations of all lections and direct comparisons of texts rather than variants from a printed text.

[4] T. Stylianopoulos, *The New Testament: An Orthodox Perspective. Volume One: Scripture, Tradition, Hermeneutics*, Brookline, 1997; cf. also his article 'Perspectives in Orthodox Biblical Interpretation', in *Sacred Text and Interpretation: Perspectives in Orthodox Biblical Studies. Papers in Honor of Professor Savas Agourides*, ed. by T. Stylianopoulos, Brookline, 2006, pp. 325-336.

[5] T. Stylianopoulos 2006, p. 333.

[6] S. Crisp in J. D. G. Dunn 2000, p. 127.

[7] D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 56.

2. It is vital that a history of the lectionary text be produced, based on adequate textual data, especially accounting for the various pre-seventh-century lectionary forms and the relationship with lections in early Church Fathers such as Chrysostom'[8].

Although there appears to be a tendency today to take the Byzantine manuscripts more seriously, scholars seem to accept that it is simply impossible to work through this huge mass of sometimes poorly preserved and inadequately classified material. Telling is the remark by Detlef Fränkel in his introduction to the new edition of Rahlfs' list of Greek Old Testament manuscripts. He speaks of the 'fast unübersehbaren Bereich der liturgischen Literatur', which made it impossible to include the many lectionaries in this list[9]. For the New Testament they are included in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* by Kurt Aland, but most experts agree that, when it comes to the Byzantine manuscripts, this list is far from complete. Not all lectionaries have been listed and also new lectionaries have been discovered.

The new project takes as its starting point the manuscripts themselves and does not, as is customary among Western scholars, focus only on text critical research. It takes the manuscripts more seriously, that is, as liturgical texts. Up until now the Byzantine manuscripts have mostly been used in their capacity as records of the biblical texts. The fact that these biblical texts were reproduced as parts of lectionaries or together with homilies was not taken seriously. The only information provided in summaries such as the *Kurzgefasste Liste* is which biblical text is found in which manuscripts. This testifies to a one-sided view on the function of these texts. In fact, one can consider this an anachronism. It concerns the idea that biblical texts can be studied separately from ecclesiastical tradition and ignores the fact that these texts have always been handed down as part of this living tradition. This is also indicated by the close coherence of biblical and patristic texts within one codex, made visible in the composition and structure of the codex. In many codices biblical texts and patristic commentary texts are found side by side or beneath one another.

This new approach, of studying the complete codex and not merely a selection of texts removed from the codex, raises the question as to the influence of the liturgy in the formation of the codex. There can be no doubt about such an influence in the Byzantine tradition, but how far does this tradition reach back? Can we also learn something from this tradition in finding the right approach to the biblical texts themselves?

Among Eastern orthodox scholars the liturgical context of the Bible is more or less taken for granted. For Western scholars the liturgical context is usually strictly separated from the exegesis of the biblical text. Textual criticism endeavours to get as close as possible to the original text. Historical criticism endeavours to find out how and when this text came into existence. Literary methods analyse how the text is structured. Scholars are accustomed to the idea that text as part of liturgy is something completely different. This no longer belongs to the field of scholarly analysis, but to the communities of faith in which the Bible is read as a sacred text and applied in sermons. This is a realm that can be described and analysed by church historians, or by people studying the history of interpretation of biblical texts. There may be reasons, however, to question this almost arrogant opposition to the liturgical approach to the biblical texts[10]. The strict literary and historical approach probably says more about the scholars using it than

[8] C. D. OSBURN, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Questionis, ed. by B. D EHRMAN, M. W. HOLMES, Grand Rapids, 1995, pp. 61-74, esp. p. 71.

[9] A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments,* Bd. I. 1. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert, bearbeitet von Detlef FRAENKEL, Göttingen, 2004, XII.

[10] Cf. T. STYLIANOPOULOS 1997, who not only acknowledges the success of Western academic biblical studies, 'clarifying innumerable literary, historical, and theological issues' (p. 74), but also remarks that after the liberation of the Bible from the tyranny of the church as one of the fruits of the Reformation we are now facing 'the tyranny of the academy over the (living) voice of the Bible' (pp. 159ff).

about the texts they are studying. One should at least take seriously that the traditional manner in which the biblical texts function in the Byzantine liturgy certainly stands closer to the way these texts were used in their original context.

A large gap remains between what we know of the beginnings of the Byzantine liturgy and the time in which the biblical texts were reaching their canonical status. There is much discussion about the origin of the Greek lectionaries. Gregory assumed that the system of Sunday lessons dates from the first half of the second century[11]. Until now, however, this date cannot be supported with hard evidence. Most scholars do not want to go back further than the fourth century[12]. Some of the contributions in the present volume enter this discussion. Anatoly Alexeev makes some interesting remarks about traces of 'a Judeo-Christian liturgical symbiosis' in Jerusalem in the fourth century and about its relationship with Byzantine lectionaries. Gerard Rouwhorst indicates that one should be very careful with bold theories about an early liturgical setting in which certain biblical manuscripts might have functioned. Some scholars assume a relationship between the Byzantine lectionary and the Jewish lectionary system of the synagogues. The Gospels would have been structured according to this system of readings[13]. The problem, again, is that we simply do not have evidence for this. There can be no doubt that in New Testament times the Jews had their lectionaries and there are also references to lectionaries in an early phase of the Christian church, for instance in Antioch and Jerusalem, but every region seems to have had its own system. It is, therefore, hardly fruitful to pursue this path, running the risk of projecting our own desired system onto the scarce evidence.

It is more beneficial to consider whether it is useful to approach and interpret the biblical texts themselves as liturgical texts. Of course, it is clear that many biblical texts find their origin in the liturgy, especially that of the Temple in Jerusalem. Perhaps we could go one step further and assume a situation comparable to the way biblical texts function in the Byzantine manuscripts, namely as part of a liturgy. As a consequence they are best interpreted together with the other texts to which they are related. This would also imply a new view on and even a solution to the often-mentioned dilemma between a living tradition and the Bible as an unchangeable collection of written texts. Recently this problem was brought to our attention by Karel van der Toorn in his book on the scribal culture of ancient Israel[14]. He describes the shift from the oral to the scribal culture as something that had a huge impact on the character of Israel's religion. No longer was the living word authoritative. The written record took over, with scribes taking the place of the prophets. Van der Toorn has been criticised about the way he describes the role and methods of the scribes[15]. He also seems to have a too negative view on the religion of Israel, which having become a religion of the book, as something static. In his study on authoritative scriptures and scribal culture Arie van der Kooij rightly notes 'that the ancient books, Scriptures, would not have been seen as carrying authority if their teachings had not been brought into force and if they had not been

[11] Cf. the survey of the scholarly research by B. M. Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament', in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. by K. Aland, Berlin, 1972, pp. 479-497; esp. p. 483.

[12] Cf. C. D. Osburn 1995, p. 64.

[13] A recent example of this theory which had a number of supporters in the last decades of the previous century, but has now been mainly abandoned, is D. Monshouwer, *The Gospels and Jewish Worship: Bible and Synogogal Liturgy in the First Century C. E.*, Vught, 2010. Cf. also his article 'The Reading of the Scriptures in the Early Church', *Bijdragen,* 54 (1993), pp. 57-71, and the response by G. Rouwhorst, 'Continuity and Discontinuity between Jewish and Christian Liturgy', *Bijdragen,* 54 (1993), pp. 72-83.

[14] K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, Cambridge, 2007.

[15] Cf. J. Van Seters, 'The Role of the Scribe in the Making of the Hebrew Bible', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions,* 8 (2008), pp. 99-129; the review by P. Davies, *Journal of Theological Studies,* 60 (2009), pp. 597-601; and my article 'On Scribes and the Canonization of the Old Testament', *Communio Viatorum,* 51 (2009), pp. 250-254.

studied by the appropriate authorities – the scholar-scribes'[16]. They were part of a process in which the community reacted to the text and in which the text was explained, applied to certain situations, and perhaps sometimes also supplemented or even corrected. Probably the best example of this is the story of the public reading[17] of the Law of Moses, followed by an explanation, as recorded in Nehemiah 8, 1-8. It is told that Ezra reads the book of the law of Moses aloud 'from daybreak till noon' to the people gathered on the square before the Water Gate. Ezra is supported by a number of Levites. It is their job to instruct the people after the reading: 'They read from the book of the law of God, chapter by chapter[18], giving the meaning so that the people could understand what was being read.'

One can speculate about the relationship of this text with the origin of the synagogal liturgy, but what is more important, and also more clear, is the way the authoritative text is handled. The holy text itself being read by the important leader Ezra is not enough in itself. An important role is also played by the thirteen Levites, who are all called by name. Their number indicates that their explanation is more than a simple translation of the text into Aramaic. Apparently they had to work in smaller groups, leaving room for questions and perhaps even discussion.

According to Acts 15, 21 this event with Ezra and the Levites at the Water Gate became a regular custom. It is stated that 'Moses has been preached in every city from the earliest times and is read in the synagogues on every Sabbath'. It is interesting to note that this is said as a conclusion to a discussion in which it is decided that non-Jewish Christians do not have to follow all the commands of the Torah. That is a new insight based on the good experiences of Paul and Peter. Although it cannot be based on a specific passage in the books of Moses, it could be presented as being in line with it, as an example of an on-going living tradition.

The famous passages in the Pastoral Letters about the Bible as holy scripture can be interpreted in the same manner. According to 1 Timothy 4, 13 the writer of this letter calls upon the readers: 'Until I come, devote yourself to the public reading of Scripture, to preaching and to teaching'. There is a clear parallel with the story of Ezra: the reading of the Bible should be conducted in public and accompanied by its application to the present situation. Something similar is indicated in 2 Timothy 3, 16: 'All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness'. The Bible can only function as holy scripture when it is not only read, but also interpreted and applied.

3. Conclusion

We started with the insight that Byzantine manuscripts are best described in their liturgical context. This raised the question whether it may be useful to pay more attention to the fact that, already in a very early stage of their transmission, many biblical texts functioned within a liturgical framework as well. With 'liturgical' we do not mean that we have to reckon with early forms of lectionaries, but that the biblical texts formed a coherent unity with other elements of religious practices. This manner of looking at the biblical text may benefit from a closer cooperation between the Western and Eastern ways of exegesis.

[16] A. van der Kooij, 'Authoritative Scriptures and Scribal Culture', *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (JSJ Suppl. 141), ed. by M. Popović, Leiden, 2010, pp. 55-71; esp. p. 70.

[17] See on this aspect also A. van der Kooij, 'The Public Reading of Scriptures at Feasts', in *Feasts and Festivals*, ed. by C. M. Tuckett, Leuven, 2009, pp. 27-44.

[18] See for this interpretation of מפרשׁ K. D. Schunck, *Nehemia* (BKAT XXXIII/2), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009, p. 234. Cf. on these verses also G. J. Venema, *Reading Scripture in the Old Testament: Deuteronomy 9-10; 31; 2 Kings 22-23; Jeremiah 36; Nehemiah 8* (OTS 48), Leiden, 2004, esp. pp. 169-170.

It could very well be incorporated into the approach advocated by Eep Talstra, who describes biblical exegesis as describing the long process of the transmission of the texts from the old to the new readers[19].

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[19] Cf. E. Talstra, 'Psalm 67: Blessing, Harvest and History: A Proposal for Exegetical Methodology', *Calvin Theological Journal,* 36 (2001), pp. 290-313; and E. Talstra, *Oude en Nieuwe Lezers. Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament*, Kampen, 2002.

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PART 1:

THE CODICO-LITURGICAL METHOD FOR CODEX CLASSIFICATION

The place of the Typikon in the codico-liturgical method

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Abstract
The Typikon, the author argues, is the indispensable hermeneutic key that allows us to conceive and understand the form and function, to enter into the "inner logic" of the Byzantine biblical, hermeneutic, patristic and liturgical manuscripts. In order to do so, the author examines the uses and meanings of the world "Typikon", briefly presents the history and evolution of the Typikon within the framework of liturgical history, outlines the function and importance of the Typikon in liturgy, and finally places the Typikon within the codico-liturgical methodology.

1. Introduction

According to the codico-liturgical method[1] emphasis is placed on the liturgical function, form, and framework of Byzantine biblical manuscripts. This approach examines the biblical codex in its entirety – does not isolate the text – and places much emphasis on liturgy as the key to understand and interpret the form, function and meaning of the Byzantine liturgical codex. Therefore, in such an approach the 'Typikon', as a complete liturgical system, plays a crucial role.

2. Uses and meanings of the word 'Typikon'

The word 'Typikon' has a number of meanings in the Byzantine liturgical tradition[2].

a. A 'Typikon' can be understood as a framework of liturgical regulations that determines the liturgical life of the Church, both in its general principles and in its details.
b. The word 'Typikon' may refer to the codex which regulates the liturgical life of a particular community and indicates what is the proper for each day of the year. The 'Diataxis' codex regulates the ordinary structure of services[3]. It should be noted that although the oldest surviving examples of this type of Typikon dates to the ninth and tenth centuries, the term 'Typikon' was applied to them from the eleventh century[4].

[1] S. Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition: Towards a Codico-Liturgical Approach to the Byzantine Biblical and Patristic Manuscripts,* Tilburg, 2007, summarised in S. Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research: Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri,* 47 (2008), pp. 5-144.

[2] There is also a secular use of the term. See C. Galatariotou, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study', *Revue des Études Byzantines,* 45 (1987), pp. 77-138, here p. 77.

[3] R. F. Taft, 'Typikon, Liturgical', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. by A. P. Kazhdan and others, 3 vols, New York-Oxford, 1991, III: 2131-2132, here 2132.

[4] J. Klentos, 'The Typology of the *Typikon* as Liturgical Document', in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh Century Monasticism: Papers of the Third Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium,* ed. by M. Mullet and A. Kirby, Belfast, 1994, pp. 294-305, here p. 295; R. F. Taft 1991, 'Typikon, Liturgical'.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 25-34.

10.1484/M.CBM.1.101388

c. To these we should add the 'Foundational Typikon', a foundation charter of a coenobitic monastery which regulates its organisation, administration, and rules of behaviour. In other words, it is a monastic rule that includes some liturgical instructions and regulations[5].
d. Finally the word 'Typikon' in plural, 'Typika', is used in the 'Office of Typika', which is a monastic service of Palestinian origin which in its original function was a monastic version of the Presanctified Gifts[6]. The earliest manuscript evidence of this service can be found in the ninth-century Horologion, codex Sinai gr. 863[7].

3. Historical framework

In his significant summary of Byzantine liturgical history, Robert Taft[8] divides the history of the Byzantine liturgy into the following five phases: (1) The pre-Constantinian era; (2) The Imperial Phase, or the Patristic Period, up to the Latin Conquest (1204-1261), thus overlapping with phases three and four; (3) The Dark Ages, from 610 to ca. 850, culminating in the Studite reform; (4) The Studite era itself from c. 850-1204; and (5) the neo-Sabaitic synthesis after the Latin conquest.

Of interest for us is the period after Iconoclasm, which includes the era of Studite reform and the neo-Sabaitic synthesis. Up to that point Constantinople knew of two liturgical traditions: the cathedral office of Hagia Sophia[9], and the monastic office of the *akoimetoi*[10] (the sleepless) of the Stoudios monastery. In retrospect, a crucial turning point for the history of Byzantine liturgy was the arrival of St. Theodore at the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople and his invitation to monks from the Monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine to join him. The new brotherhood replaced the *akoimetoi* (sleepless) monks of Stoudios and their urban monastic liturgical tradition. According to Taft:

> 'it was this office of St. Sabas, not the *Akolouthia ton Akoimeton* or 'Office of the Sleepless Monks' then current in the monasteries of the capital, that the Studites synthesized with material from the *Asmatike Akolouthia* or cathedral office of the Great Church to create the hybrid Studite office: a Palestinian Horologion with its psalmody and hymnody grafted onto a skeleton of litanies and prayers from the Euchology of the Great Church. Originally scattered in disparate collections of *kanones*, *stichera*, *kontakaria*, *tropologia*, *kathismata*, this new poetry eventually was codified in the later anthologies of propers for the daily (Oktoechos: 8th c.), Lenten-paschal (Triodion: 10th c.), and fixed (Menaion: 10th c.) cycles of the liturgical year, in that order, beginning in the centuries indicated. ... So at the beginning of the second millennium a new

[5] A-M. Talbot, 'Typikon, Monastic', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. by A. P. Kazhdan and others, l 3 vols, New York-Oxford, 1991, III: 2132. These have been published in English translation with excellent introductions and notes in J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents,* 5 vols, Washington DC, 2000.

[6] R. F. Taft, *A History of The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Vol. VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites,* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 281), Rome, 2008, pp. 399-403; S. Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components*, (Liturgia Condenda 21) Leuven, 2009, pp. 80-90.

[7] J. Mateos, 'Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas: Le codex sinaitique grec 863 (IXe siècle)', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, Vol III, Orient Chrétien, Deuxième partie,*(Studi e Testi, 233), Rome, 1964, pp. 47-76 [f. 75r-77v].

[8] R. F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, (American Essays in Liturgy Series), Collegeville, Minnesota, 1992.

[9] The chief text representing this tradition is the so-called Typikon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia of Constantinople) of the ninth/tenth centuries. For the text, see J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église, (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 165-166), 2 vols, Rome, 1962-1963. See also the important studies of G. Hanke, 'Vesper und Orthros des Kathedralritus der Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule St. Georgen, Frankfurt am Main, 2002) and D. Balageorgos, *Ἡ Ψαλτικὴ Παράδοση τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κοσμικοῦ Τυπικοῦ (*Ἵδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας Μελέται 6), Athens, 2001.

[10] The major study on the sleepless monks is by I. Fountoules, *Ἡ Εἰκοσιτετράωρος Ἀκοίμητος Δοξολογία,* Athens, 1963.

type of monastic book, the developed Typikon, began to appear, to regulate the interference of these three conflicting cycles of the proper'[11].

This, however, was not the end. Palestinian monks reworked the Studite synthesis adapting them to their own needs and in turn, this second-generation Sabaitic material century began by the twelfth century to influence the offices of the Studite monasteries in the capital.[12] The watershed of the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders in 1204 led to what is called the 'neo-Sabaitic synthesis', a synthesis of the Studite material with the second generation Sabaitic material. By the fifteenth century and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, together with the spread of Athonite hesychasm, the neo-Sabaitic synthesis reflected – and still reflects – the liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church[13].

4. The history of the Typikon

The Typikon mirrors the growth and evolution of Byzantine liturgy and in its final stage presupposes a good number of liturgical books which it regulates. In other words it arose out of the need to regulate the interference of the daily, movable, and fixed cycles of the year. The beginnings of the Typikon ought to be sought in the development of the daily offices and Eucharistic celebrations, which grew with the development of the weekly and annual cycle centred upon Easter, and reached its final stage with the completion of the festal calendar. In this final stage one can speak of three distinct types of Typikon traditions (Cathedral, Studite, and Sabaitic)[14] which influenced one another, eventually giving rise to the present Byzantine liturgical tradition.

As we saw above, the fusion of the Cathedral and Sabaitic Typikon in the Monastery of Stoudios gave rise to the Studite synthesis which was completed by the twelfth century and had spread throughout the Empire and its periphery (Mt. Athos, Palestine, Southern Italy, Russia, Georgia). The earliest surviving Typikon representing the Studite synthesis exists only in Slavonic, the original Greek dating to the beginning of the eleventh century[15]. Two other Studite Typika are that of the Monastery of the Holy Saviour in Messina, Italy (1131 A.D.)[16] and that of George III Mt'acmindeli of Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos[17]. The latter is important as it demonstrates that the earliest liturgical tradition on Mt. Athos reflected the Studite synthesis. The Evergetis Typikon is another important representative of the Studite synthesis displaying, however, a high quantity of Sabaitic material[18].

Gradually more and more Sabaitic materials made their way into the Typika, giving rise to the 'neo-Sabaitic synthesis' and the neo-Sabaitic Typika. Their predominance was sealed on Mt. Athos in the fourteenth century through the influence and work of Philotheos Kokkinos, abbot of the Lavra Monastery

[11] R. Taft 1992, p. 58.
[12] R. Taft 1992, p. 79.
[13] R. Taft 1992, pp. 78-83.
[14] J. Klentos 1994, pp. 299-300.
[15] D. Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod – St. Sophia 1136*, (Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum, Pontificium Institutum Orientale), Cleveland, 1991. For the Slavonic manuscript witnesses to this Typikon, see pp. 9-10. R. F. Taft, 'Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 42 (1988), pp. 179-194, here p. 184.
[16] M. Arranz (ed.) *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine,* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 185), Rome, 1969.
[17] R. Taft 1992, 'Mount Athos', pp. 185-186 and the notes on these pages.
[18] J. Klentos, *Byzantine Liturgy in the Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Codex Athens Ethnike Bibliotheke 788)*, (Dissertation submitted to the University of Notre Dame), Notre Dame, IN, 1995.

on Mt. Athos and twice Patriarch of Constantinople[19]. With the emergence of the printing press, the neo-Sabaitic synthesis, as expressed in the various printed editions of the neo-Sabaitic 'Typikon of St. Sabas'[20], became predominant in the Orthodox world.

The rigour, however of the monastic liturgical life, as expressed in the Typikon of St. Sabas, could not be kept up in non-monastic environments such as village and city churches. This realisation led the Ecumenical Patriarchate to work on an adaptation of the Sabas Typikon to parish reality and needs. The outcome was the Typikon of Constantine (1838)[21] and later the Typikon of Violakis (1888)[22], which is today the basis for the liturgical practice of the Greek Orthodox world. The adoption of the 'new' (Gregorian) calendar in the early 1920s necessitated new adaptations, which were generally expressed in the annual editions of the calendar of the Church of Greece[23], and recently presented systematically in the *Σύστημα Τυπικοῦ* of the Rev. Konstantinos Papayiannis[24]. Athonite monasticism, on the other hand, continues to use the Typikon of St. Sabas in its neo-Sabaitic redaction, adapting it to the local practices of each monastery[25]. The Typikon of Georgios Regas, written in 1908 and published in 1994, represents an effort to codify the St. Sabas Typikon as expressed in the liturgical tradition of the Kollyvades as it survived on the island of Skiathos[26]. (See the Appendix for an outline of the history of the Typikon).

5. The function and importance of the Typikon

John Klentos has set forth seven characteristics of the Typikon: (1) it contains information for celebrating the hours and the Eucharistic liturgy; (2) it provides ritual directives for major feasts and fasts; (3) the directives are usually organised as a detailed calendar; (4) they presume and regulate elements found in a variety of books, indicating them with incipits. In fact, the Typikon evolved from the rubrics contained in these books; (5) It usually contains idiosyncratic local practices; (6) it orders the liturgical elements according to general or universal rules and traditions; (7) While it may be presumed to have universal authority, the Typikon was intended for local use, grew out of local practices, and existed in many different forms[27]. To quote Alexander Schmemann, 'the Church has never believed that complete uniformity in ceremonies and prayers is an obligatory condition of her unity, nor has she ever finally identified her *lex orandi* with any particular 'historical' type of worship'[28].

[19] On the role of Mt. Athos in this phase of evolution of the Byzantine liturgy see the very important article by R. Taft 1988, pp. 179-194.

[20] Editio princeps: *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἁγίας Λαύρας τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα*, Venice, 1545. Later editions were printed in 1577, 1643, 1685, 1738, all in Venice.

[21] C. Byzantios, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ὕφος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας,* Constantinople, 1838, reprinted with corrections and additions in Constantinople in 1868, and finally in Venice in 1881. C. Terzopoulos, *Ο Πρωτοψάλτης τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντίνος Βυζάντιος* (Ἵδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας Μελέται 9), Athens, 2004, pp. 241-318.

[22] G. Violakes, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας,* Constantinople, 1888, and since then numerous reprints in Athens from Saliveros publishing house.

[23] This annual publication appeared for the first time in 1924 with the title *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* published by the Archdiocese of Athens with E. Farlekas as its editor. Since 1952 it is being published under the auspices of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, originally with the title *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and since 1989 with the title *Δίτπυχα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

[24] K. Papayiannis, *Σύστημα Τυπικοῦ τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Ὅλου Ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Athens, 2006.

[25] The only Athonite Typikon published is that of the Dionysiou Monastery, written in 1909. Other contemporary Athonite Typika include that of Philotheou Monastery, written in 1813, that of Konstamonitou Monastery, written in 1854, that of Xiropotamou Monastery, written in 1927. See K. Papayiannis 2006, pp. 21-22.

[26] G. Regas, *Τυπικόν*, (Λειτουργικὰ Βλατάδων 1) Thessaloniki, 1994, but originally written in 1908.

[27] J. Klentos 1994, p. 298.

[28] A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology,* Crestwood, NY, 1986, p. 20.

Having said the above, we must emphasise the point that the Typikon is at the heart of the Byzantine liturgical tradition. It is the material incarnation of the Pauline exhortation, *Πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω* (1 Cor 14:40). The Typikon, or Ordo – to use Alexander Schmemann's term[29], represents and expresses the 'inner logic' of worship. It is a living element, a living organism, which bears the signs of changes, shifts, tensions, and fusions in liturgical history. Its central function and aim is the 'proper' worship of God. Here one is to be warned that 'proper' worship is meant not in the sense of superficial rubricism (a real problem); rather, 'proper' worship is seen as that which emulates the faith of the Church and reflects the Divine Economy, lived and experienced in full within the worshipping community. The Typikon then is what connects worship and faith, what gives meaning to the famous maxim 'lex orandi – lex credendi.'

At a recent trip to Mt Athos I asked a monk who had served as 'typikaris'[30] in his monastery for 15 years about his view on the role of the Typikon in the liturgical life of his monastery. He pointed out that the Typikon should not be seen as a 'dry' system of rules and regulations pertaining to worship; rather it is something living, which mediates the faith of the Church. It is something easily moulded with its primary task to project the core, the essence of the faith. Typikon and rubricism are total opposites. He continued by saying that the Typikon should be studied extensively in order for one to know what is essential and what is not. He pointed to the fact that on particular days when the Typikon is rather complicated, there is often discussion among the monks after the services as to the application of the Typikon on those days. He concluded by saying that Typikon is prayer. This anecdotal information gives us a glimpse into the world of the Typikon, its role and function in the liturgical life of a monastery, and the mentality of the monks towards it.

6. The place of the Typikon in the codico-liturgical method

The codico-liturgical methodology in approaching Byzantine biblical manuscripts underscores the liturgical framework, context, and content of these manuscripts. However, in order to fully comprehend their form and function, the underlying principle(s) dictating their form and function need to be discovered. This exactly is the place and role of the Typikon in the codico-liturgical method: it is the interpretive tool which will allow us to enter into the 'inner logic' of the Byzantine biblical manuscripts (even if they post-date the biblical manuscripts). It is parallel to what Alexander Schmemann wrote when speaking about the Ordo within the context of liturgical theology:

> 'To find the Ordo behind the 'rubrics,' regulations and rules – to find the unchanging principle, the living norm or 'logos' of worship as a whole, within what is accidental and temporary: this is the primary task which faces those who regard liturgical theology not as the collecting of accidental and arbitrary explanations of services but as the systematic study of the *lex orandi* of the Church'[31].

Since the Typikon is the 'coordinator' of all liturgical books, the study of the Typikon will uncover the basic principles around which the liturgical framework of the Byzantine manuscripts revolves. This does not mean that there is one, universal and eternal liturgical Typikon; this is a misconception[32]. Relative uniformity – and I stress the word 'relative' – is a phenomenon that arose after the dawn of the printing

[29] A. Schmemann 1986, pp. 33-47.
[30] The typikaris is the monk responsible for the application of the Typikon in the services of the monastery church.
[31] A. Schmemann 1986, p. 39.
[32] J. Klentos 1994, p. 297.

press. Before the printing press, no single Typikon manuscript was identical to another; and it could not be so, as each Typikon was written for a particular church or monastery, serving and being adapted to the needs of that particular community. Writing in the eleventh century, Nikon of the Black Mountain commented:

> 'I came upon and collected different typika, of Stoudios and of Jerusalem, and one did not agree with the other, neither Studite with another Studite one, nor Jerusalem one with Jerusalem ones. And, greatly perplexed by this, I interrogated the wise one and the ancients, and those having knowledge of these matters and seasoned in things pertaining to the office of ecclesiarch and the rest, of the holy monastery of our holy father Sabas in Jerusalem, including the office of hegumen ...'[33].

Nikon of the Black Mountain eventually adapts what he finds for his own Typikon[34]. Robert Taft notes:

> 'That sums up both the way in which Byzantine monastic liturgy developed and the consequent problems its extant manuscripts pose for the scholar today. Monastic legislators, compilers, and copyists sifted through the sources from a plethora of related usages, picking and choosing what suited them, not haphazardly but within the parameters of basic fidelity to a tradition that was in their blood, much as a writer fully in command of his mother tongue and its literary forms brings forth from his storehouse what is at once old and new'[35].

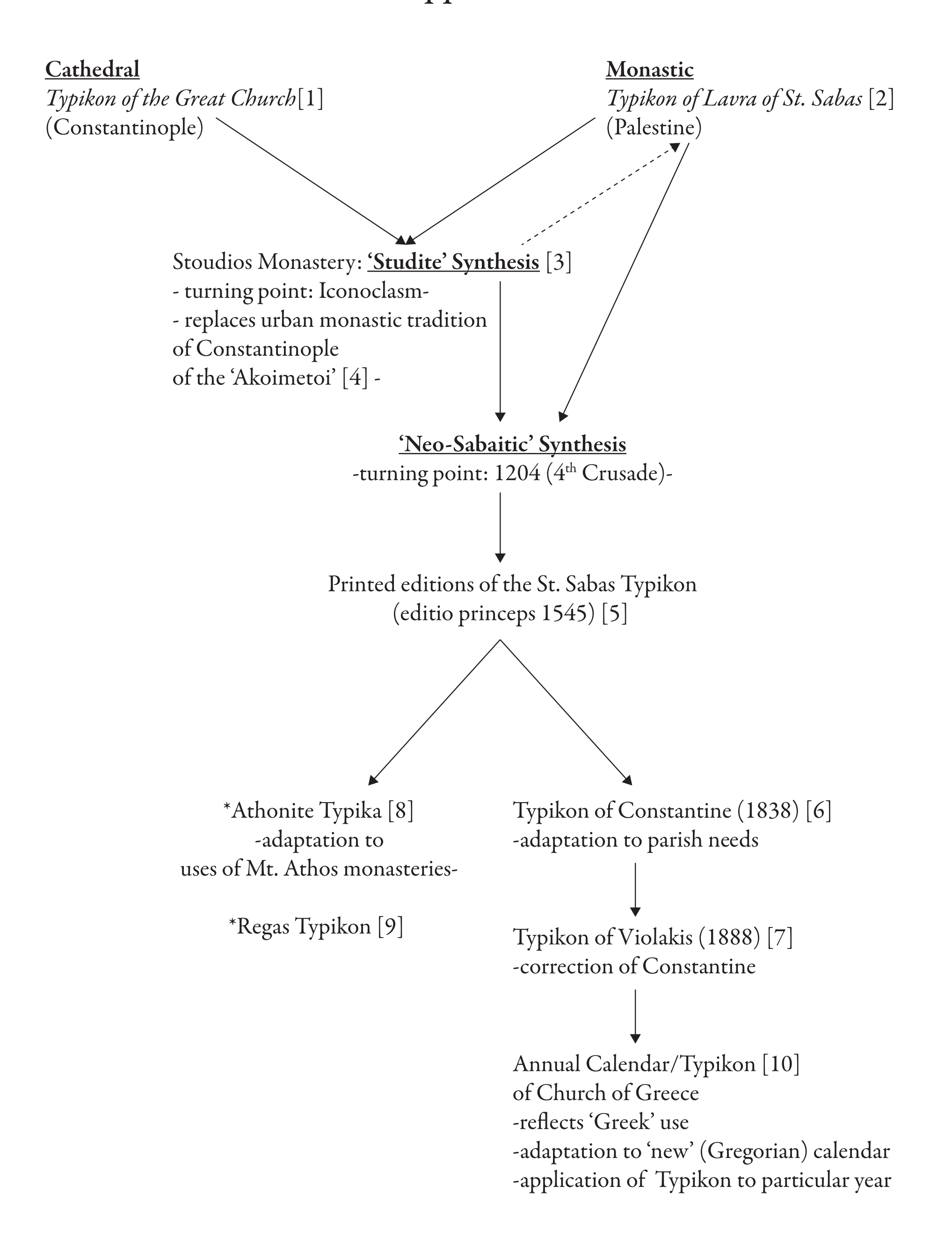
The study of the Typikon will allow us to enter into the frame of mind, the thinking-process, the principles, and the underlying mentality and approach as regards to liturgy and worship. Within the great variety, reflecting local uses and adaptations, one can discern an underlying common denominator, a specific approach to liturgy. In such a context the biblical, homiletic, patristic and liturgical manuscripts – in their various forms – gain a new indispensable hermeneutic key that will allow us to conceive and understand their form and function in their own environment, their liturgical context; and the Typikon is that hermeneutic key.

[33] N. Beneševič (ed.), *Taktikon Nikona Černogorca: Grečeskij tekst po rukopisi No. 441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv. Ekateriny*, Vypusk I, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, **čast' 139**, Petrograd, 1917, as cited and translated in R. Taft, 1988, p. 179. On Nikon of the Black Mountain see T. Giagou, 'Νίκων ὁ Μαυρορείτης: Βίος, Συγγραφικὸ Ἔργο, Κανονικὴ Διδασκαλία', in T. Giagou, *Κανονικολειτουργικά* I, Thessaloniki, 2003, pp. 7-303.

[34] R. Taft 1988, p. 179.

[35] R. Taft 1988, p. 179.

Appendix



Notes to Appendix

1. J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église, (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 165-166), 2 vols., Rome, 1962-1963.
2. Sinai gr. 1094 of the twelfth/thirteenth century, Sinai gr. 1096 of the twelfth/thirteenth and Sinai gr. 1095 of the twelfth century, in A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiceskix rukopisej xranjascixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago vostoka,* vol 3, Petrograd, 1917.
3. D. Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod – St. Sophia 1136*, (Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum, Pontificium Institutum Orientale), Cleveland, 1991; *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 185), ed. by M. Arranz, Rome, 1969.

4. I. Fountoules, *Ἡ Εἰκοσιτετράωρος Ἀκοίμητος Δοξολογία,* Athens, 1963.
5. Editio princeps: *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἁγίας Λαύρας τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα,* Venice, 1545. Later editions were printed in 1577, 1643, 1685, 1738, all in Venice.
6. C. Byzantios, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ὕφος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας,* Constantinople, 1838, repr. with corrections and additions in Constantinople in 1868, and finally in Venice in 1881.
7. G. Violakes, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας,* Constantinople, 1888, and since then numerous reprints in Athens from Saliveros publishing house.
8. The only Athonite Typikon published is that of the Dionysiou Monastery, written in 1909: *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου*, Hagion Oros, 2004. Other contemporary Athonite Typika include that of Philotheou Monastery, written in 1813, that of Konstamonitou Monastery, written in 1854, that of Xiropotamou Monastery, written in 1927. See Konstantinos Papayiannis, *Σύστημα Τυπικοῦ τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Ὅλου Ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Athens, 2006, pp. 21-22.
9. G. Regas, *Τυπικόν*, (Λειτουργικὰ Βλατάδων 1) Thessaloniki, 1994, but originally written in 1908.
10. *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* 1924-1951, *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 1952-1988, and *Δίπτυχα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 1989- .

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N. Beneševič (ed.), *Taktikon Nikona Černogorca: Grečeskij tekst po rukopisi No. 441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv. Ekateriny*, Vypusk I, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, čast' 139, Petrograd, 1917.

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Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου, Hagion Oros, 2004.

The Gospel Book and its liturgical function in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition

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Abstract

This article explores the development of the Gospel lectionary and the Tetraevangelion in the Slavic regions. After a brief summary of the history of research an excursus is given of the structure of the Tetraevangelion and lectionary. The development and variety of the liturgical material in the Gospel books is discussed and an explanation is given of textual variations by the underlying Greek tradition and subsequent mixture between manuscripts. It is stressed that all forms of the Slavic Gospels are not only dependent on the Byzantine tradition but also have influenced each other. The Slavic Gospels are part of the complex history of the development of the liturgical books.

1. Introduction

From the fifth to the sixth centuries, when the series of pericopes from the Gospels read on the most important feasts of the liturgical year had already been accepted in various traditions, the necessity arose in both the East and the West to organise these readings in a clearer manner than hitherto found in the book containing the continuous Gospel texts, known in Greek as the Tetraevangelion. Initially the scriptoria located in the episcopal sees, and especially in the monasteries, enriched the Tetraevangelion codices with liturgical annotations, or created separate lists of pericopes. Later they began to produce a new type of book – the lectionary – which contained pericopes from the Gospels arranged according to the order of the liturgical year. This complex system of readings was based on the model of the local Jerusalem liturgy, but over time this changed in various areas[1].

In the tradition of the Byzantine liturgy, the Gospel lectionary begins with the reading from the Prologue of John used on Easter Sunday. An analysis of the complex system of lections shows that its structure reflects the traditional principle of the ancient system regulated by *lectio continua*. The continuity of the text, based on selections of readings from the evangelists, is evident in such a way that we can still speak of a cycle of John, Matthew, Luke and Mark. The complexity of the Byzantine lectionary system stems in the first place from the distinction between movable and fixed feasts, as they follow either the lunar calendar (i.e. Easter) or the solar calendar (i.e. Christmas). Secondly the complexity stems from the gradual formation of the various cycles, in which a process of stratification is manifested, reflecting liturgical history. In some cases, however, the selection of pericopes illustrating the events commemorated during the liturgical year prevails. For example, in the cycle of John that contains the readings for the Easter period, the pericope for the Tuesday after Easter is a text from the Gospel of Luke (24. 12-35),

1 For a general outline of the formation of the various liturgical traditions, see the now classic study by A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes. Troisième édition revue par Dom B. Botte O. S. B.*, Chevetogne-Paris, 1953.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 35-54.

 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101389

which thus interrupts the readings from John. In a very old Jerusalem tradition the episode of Emmaus, told therein, was probably already attached to a stational liturgy celebrated on the third day of Easter[2].

When Cyril and Methodius translated the Gospels from Greek into Slavic between the years 860 and 870, before and/or during their mission in Moravia, the Byzantine liturgical year and the corresponding system of pericopes were definitively fixed. The question remains, however, whether these brothers from Thessaloniki in the first instance translated a lectionary or a Tetraevangelion[3]. The first handwritten testimonies both to the lectionary and the Slavic Tetraevangelion only date back to the tenth to eleventh centuries, while in the Bulgarian and Macedonian region, in Preslav and Ochrid, and subsequently in Rus' (Kiev) and medieval Serbia, the episcopal sees and monasteries were already transmitting the translation of the Gospels by Cyril and Methodius. More than a century after the first version, these testimonies feature revisions and adjustments, according to new geographic-linguistic contexts, and corresponding to the different book forms and liturgical traditions from across the Byzantine world.

The organisation of liturgical celebration in the Byzantine-Slavic area was dominated from the very beginning by the influence of the solemn liturgy of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople (Great Church). From an early stage this had been replaced by the liturgical model from monastic tradition, when the Constantinopolitan Studite Typikon played a fundamental role. It was only from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries onwards that the Sabaite or Jerusalem Typikon, which adhered more directly to Palestinian tradition, was imposed. In this book (the Typikon), which organises the whole liturgical year, a central place is given to indications of the biblical pericopes that are to be used during liturgical ceremonies, starting with the readings from the Gospels pronounced in the liturgy. Throughout different historical periods this book has influenced the forms of the Gospel book, thereby determining evolutions and changes.

2. History of studies

Until recent times the liturgical function of the Gospel book, which is reflected in its various forms, had not attracted the attention of researchers. At the end of the fourteenth century, M. Speranskij, upon reviewing the studies of G. A. Voskresenskij, already encouraged a comparative study of the Greek and Slavic Gospels, in terms not only of their textual differences, but also of the different forms in which the Slavic version of the Gospels had been handed down[4]. However, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that a systematic study was made of the structure of the Gospel lectionary and the Tetraevangelion in the Slavic region. The results are an important contribution not only to our knowledge of the Slavic version of the Gospels, but also to the study of the Byzantine book. One of the first scholars to acknowledge the importance of the structure of the lectionary for the study of the textual tradition of the Gospels was L. Moszyński. As early as the 1950s the Polish scholar offered a list of pericopes found in

[2] For the history of the formation of the liturgical Byzantine calendar, with specific attention to the Byzantine lectionary (Gospel, Apostle and Paroimiarion of the OT) and its diffusion in the Slavic version, see the latest synthesis of A. A. Alekseev, *Biblija v bogosluženii. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2008. Regarding the insertion of the reading from Luke in the John cycle (Luke 24. 12-35), however, we do not share the opinion of the scholar, that one should make reference to a local translation, which postponed the event to three days after Easter (A. A. Alekseev, p. 68). The Gospel passage indeed refers to the Emmaus episode: 'Altogether three days have passed since all this happened' (Luke 24. 21).

[3] This question was treated more recently by Anatoli Alekseev on the occasion of the edition of the Gospel of John in the Slavic translation (A. A. Alekseev, A. A Pičchadze, M. B. Babickaja, I.V. Azarova, E. L. Alekseeva, E. I. Vaneeva, A. M. Pentkovskij, V. A. Romodanovskaja, T. V. Tkačeva, *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavjanskoj tradicii*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1998, pp. 19-21), but the question remains unanswered.

[4] M. N. Speranskij, 'Recenzija M. Speranskogo na trudy G. A. Voskresenskogo', *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* III, 5 (1899), p. 65.

the oldest Slavic lectionaries and Tetraevangelia[5], even though they were still organised by evangelist. In the 1970s Lidia P. Žukovskaja and Yvonne Burns made a decisive contribution. Žukovskaja classified the various forms of the Slavic ecclesiastical lectionary on the basis of the arrangement and contents of the pericopes in the section of movable feasts of the Synaxarion, but she deliberately left aside the fixed feasts of the Menologion, rich in variants and stratifications in the liturgical commemorations, that testify to the diversity of the structure of the lectionary. Although Žukovskaja was unaware of the results achieved by the Colwell school in Chicago, she was able to provide the basis for research into the structure of the lectionary and her results are extremely useful for studying not only the Slavic but also the Greek manuscript tradition[6]. Burns, on the other hand, systematically compared the arrangement of the lectionary in the Greek and Slavic manuscript traditions. Not having any general results at her disposal either, the English scholar gave substance to the idea that the study of the Slavic version could lead to an understanding of the structure of the whole Byzantine lectionary[7]. In the 1990s, E. Dogramadžieva studied the structure of the Gospel book, both the (Gospel) lectionary as well as the Tetraevangelion forms, analysing certain elements with a liturgical character in particular, and for private reading[8].

Today the first results in this field can be enumerated: the catalogues of Cyrillic manuscripts nearly always indicate the form of the book (Gospel lectionary, Tetraevangelion); editions report the marginal annotations, which generally reflect the liturgical use of codices, and offer tables providing the structure of the text in a way that is more or less complete. Hypotheses about the reconstruction of the oldest manuscript tradition also consider the chronological relationships between the various forms of the Gospel book. However, it has to be said that a great number of lectionary editions only contain a list of pericopes in the appendices, arranged by evangelist, which are required to trace a certain verse or Gospel chapter. An exception is the edition of Vukan Gospel (Vuk.)[9], edited by J. Vrana, which provides a list of pericopes together with an indication of the liturgical timetable. Moreover there are tables attached including an index of the text according to the traditional order of the Gospels (J. Vrana, *Vukanovo Evandjelje*, Beograd, 1967).

A closer look, however, reveals widespread terminological uncertainties and a limited understanding of the liturgical tradition to which these refer, which makes it difficult to distinguish the structural changes that occurred throughout the centuries. It would therefore be fundamentally important to learn more about the Greek lectionary and the Greek version of the Gospels in the Byzantine period in general. This requires further in-depth research. Often, as in the case of Burns and Dogramadžieva, scholars have tried to fill the gap with their own personal research. Therefore, analysts of New Testament Greek have to date made a great critical effort to textually reconstruct the archetype, but in the process, because of its secondary importance, they have disregarded its history and especially the origin and development of the Gospel lectionary[10].

[5] L. Moszyński, 'Staro-cerkiewno-słowiański aprakos', *Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej*, 2 (1957), pp. 373-395.

[6] M. Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2001, pp. 214-228.

[7] M. Garzaniti, pp. 229-234.

[8] M. Garzaniti, pp. 248-252.

[9] For the abbreviations used to indicate the manuscripts, see the list of codices of Slavic Gospels published in Marcello Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien,* 2001, pp. 509-584.

[10] Of course we cannot dwell on the actual state of research of the Byzantine Gospel lectionary. The introduction to the study of the Greek lectionary dating from the beginning of the century, found in the fundamental study by C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1900-1909 is still valid. Special consideration has to be paid to the chapter *Griechische liturgische Bücher* which contains a detailed list of the lectionary readings based on certain codices partly cited in previous editions of the NT (C. R. Gregory, I, 1900, pp. 327-386). Following this there is a list of manuscripts of the lectionaries (C. R. Gregory, I, 1900, pp. 387-464) and some notes at the end on new manuscripts (C. R. Gregory, III, 1909, pp. 1211-1292). For a short introduction to the matter of the lecture system in the Byzantine liturgy, see P.-M. Gy, 'La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine', in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S. E. G. Lercaro*, II, Roma (1967), pp. 251-261.

For a description of the structure of the liturgical books containing pericopes from the Gospels, it is best to follow the traditional terminology used in New Testament studies. In particular we speak of the structure and the forms of a book, and not of the 'type', even though this term is widely used nowadays in Slavic studies, since Žukovskaja's research. This could be confusing. For, within the scope of New Testament studies, the term 'text type' is used for the principal textual forms provided in the Greek manuscript tradition.

3. The division of the Gospel text into chapters

Particularly complex, but of fundamental importance for the study of the manuscript tradition of the Gospels, is the division of the Gospel text into chapters. Uncertainties of terminology have further complicated this matter. In manuscript tradition we observe a threefold system:

1. The sections of Eusebius, also called 'chapters of Ammonius' or 'small chapters', are of ancient origin. According to tradition the Gospels were divided into numerous sections, around 220 of which were by Ammonius of Alexandria. The sum of these chapters amounts to 355 for Matthew, 233 for Mark, 342 for Luke and 232 for John. There are, however, differences between these enumerations in Greek tradition[11] as well as in Slavic tradition. In the fourth century Eusebius of Caesarea ingeniously created tables on the basis of this division, divided into 10 canons, indicating the parallel passages of the Gospels, each accompanied by a letter[12]. Widespread in the Greek Tetraevangelia between the end of the ninth and the eleventh centuries, these tables rarely appear in the Slavic Tetraevangelia. In general, the sections by Eusebius are present not only in the Tetraevangelia, but also in the Slavic Gospel lectionaries, while in the Greek Gospel lectionaries they are far more exceptional[13]. Normally in the Gospel lectionary only the first chapter is indicated.
2. The 'great chapters' (κεφάλαια) are also of ancient origin and likewise show separate numbering per evangelist: Matthew is divided into 68 chapters, Mark into 48, Luke into 83 and John into 18 chapters. In the past there has been confusion between the indication of these chapters and the sections of Eusebius, under the name 'chapters of Ammonius'[14]. In the Tetraevangelia a list of chapter headings is usually offered before each Gospel. In the margin of the text an indication of the headings, or only the number of the chapters, is also inserted. This enables the reader to verify textual differences between the headings indicated in the margins and those in the preceding lists.
3. From the second half of the fourteenth century, pericopes were numbered in the Slavic manuscripts in the order in which they appeared in the Tetraevangelion, and not according to the order of the liturgical year, thereby rendering the sections of Eusebius superfluous. The numbering of

An updated introduction to the formation and the structure of the Byzantine lectionary was recently published by D. M. Petras, '*The Gospel Lectionary of the Byzantine Church*', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly,* 41, 2-3 (1997), pp. 113-140. For a status quaestionis and possible study perspectives see E. Velkovska, 'Lo studio dei lezionari bizantini', *Ecclesia orans,* 13 (1996), pp. 253-271.

[11] C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* 1900-1909, II, 1902, pp. 861-872.

[12] For the edition of the Greek text see NA27, p. 84*-89*.

[13] C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* 1900-1909, I, 1900, p. 340.

[14] H. F. von Soden already identified the sections of Eusebius with indications of this different subdivision into chapters (H. F. von Soden*, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, Göttingen, 1911-1913, I, 1, pp. 388-432), a cause of error in other scholars such as J. Vajs (J. Vajs, 'Ammoniova a Eusebiova κεφάλαια v evangelijních kodexech staroslovanských', *Časopis Katolického Duchovenstva,* 69 (94), 3 (1928), pp. 257-263). See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* 1900-1909, II, 1902, p. 859-861.

the pericopes is inserted in the margins of the text: Matthew generally contains 115 pericopes, Mark 71, Luke 114 and John 68. These numbers have been given the name *začalo* (ἀρχή), a term that later assumed the meaning of pericope.

In the Tetraevangelion the combination of the three different types of numbering systems is very exceptional: while in the more ancient codices the 'great chapters' and 'sections of Eusebius' are found, in later codices the numbering of the pericopes only accompanies the great chapters[15]. The introduction of pericope numbering definitely led to a preference for the Tetraevangelion thereby making the Gospel lectionary book increasingly exceptional[16].

4. The Slavic Tetraevangelion

Over the centuries the Tetraevangelion, containing the Gospels in the traditional order, became enriched with numerous elements (textual and numerical) that can be distinguished into two groups, depending on whether they were composed in their final form for the liturgy or for private reading[17]. Recognising the impossibility in the current state of research of determining the chronological limits of single elements, Dogramadžieva observes that in the Tetraevangelion some elements have probably been present from the beginning (such as the Synaxarion (v. *infra*) and Menologion (v. *infra*) tables, and the tables for the eleven Sunday morning readings) and that other elements were added at a later stage. From the fourteenth century onwards, simultaneously to the diffusion of the Jerusalem Typikon, a model was gradually imposed that provided new elements, such as prayers, or comments on the texts, which are found only in a few manuscripts and often originated from other liturgical or para-liturgical books[18]. This paper only mentions the main components of the most widespread forms of this book, taking N. Nikol'skij's ever useful observations into account[19].

1. The introductions to each Gospel by Archbishop Theophylact of Bulgaria and the closing formulas that depend on them. We encounter them from the fourteenth century onwards.
2. The list of chapters (κεφάλαια). The indication of the chapter, at times with numbers only, is also present in the margins of the Gospel text.
3. The letter of Eusebius of Caesarea and the sections of the canons of Eusebius. There are Tetraevangelia, as Zographensis (Zogr.), for example, which contain the number of the sections and canons of Eusebius in the margin of the text. The Gospel of Galizia (Gal., 1144) is the oldest Tetraevangelion containing the letter of Eusebius, with an explanation of the principles for understanding the table of canons, but not the table itself (sic!).

[15] E. Dogramadžieva has studied these different types of textual divisions on the basis of fifty-three Slavic codices (X-XVI century) and six Greek codices (XI-XV century) (E. Dogramadžieva, 'Tipove nomeracii v kalendara na srednovekovite slavjanski četveroevangelija', in *Chiljada i osemdeset godini ot smărtta na sv. Naum Ochridski*, ed. by M. Băčvarov, E. Dogramadžieva, S. Nikolova, Sofija, 1993, pp. 173-178).

[16] E. Dogramadžieva, 'Slavjanskijat aprakos sled văveždaneto na jerusalimskija ustav', in *Problemi na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo i na Bălgarska kultura prez XIV vek*, Sofia, 2007, pp. 180-190 (*Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 17).

[17] In defining this book in Church Slavonic the borrowed Greek term and its abbreviation are generally used: *tetroevangelie* (Tetraevangelion) and (*evangelie*) *tetrŭ* (tetro), from Greek τετραευαγγέλιον (τετραευάγγελον), but denotations such as četveroevangelie and četveroblagovestie are also to be found. Moreover, in one and the same manuscript tradition, a very diverse terminology can be observed. See R. Marti, 'Tetra-Evangelist', *Starobălgarskata literatura,* 33-34 (2005), pp. 458-467.

[18] E. Dogramadžieva, 'Săstav na slavjanskite răkopisi četveroevangelija', *Palaeobulgarica*, XVII. 2 (1993), pp. 3-21.

[19] N. Nikol'skij, *Obozrenie bogoslužebnych knig pravoslavnoj rossijskoj cerkvi po otnošeniju ich cerkovnomu ustavu*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1858, pp. 310-316.

4. The indication of the pericope in the margins, pointing out the liturgical moment, the *incipit* and the beginning of the pericope. From the second half of the fourteenth century the pericopes began to be numbered in the order in which they appeared in the Tetraevangelion. The numeration of the pericopes was inserted in the margins of the text (v. *supra*).
5. The division of the Gospel text into five parts corresponding to the five days of the week. From the end of the fourteenth century certain Tetraevangelia show this division, useful for private readings of the Gospels.
6. The list of Menologion and Synaxarion pericopes (v. *infra*) includes the eleven Sunday morning readings and the pericopes for different occasions. For each reading, the text indicates: the liturgical moment (day and week), the evangelist, the number of the Eusebius section (until the fourteenth-fifteenth century) or the number of the pericope (from the fourteenth century), the incipit, and the beginning and the end of the reading. The Synaxarion list begins with the pericope provided for Easter, but there are cases in which the first pericope is the one for the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee or the Sunday of All Saints, which is the first Sunday of Matthew (the Matthew cycle). The same list can be presented in two separate parts. From the eleventh century, according to O. V. Loseva, the list of Synaxarion and Menologion pericopes began to be inserted at the beginning of the Tetraevangelion and the Praxapostolos in the Greek region, while in the East Slavic region this list was, up until the fourteenth century, always to be found at the end of the book[20].
7. In later times, roughly from the fourteenth-fifteenth century, tables with additional information were added to these lists (the *aleluiarii*, the tone of the Octoechos, etc.) or other lists of pericopes, arranged by evangelist, of the Synaxarion or other parts, and with the pericopes of particular feasts and occasions.
8. Various hymnodic elements.

5. The Slavic Gospel Lectionary

The Gospel lectionary consists of pericopes arranged according to the Byzantine liturgical year. Taken all together, even with the significant differences between the different lectionaries, the pericopes never contain the whole text of the four Gospels.

Among the more widespread prejudices concerning the structure of the Gospel lectionary, there is one that considers the pericope system to be a rigid one that has undergone very few mutations. But, on the contrary, the pericope system has undergone numerous changes and adjustments, especially in the period of its formation within Greek tradition. In fact, in the Byzantine Gospel lectionary the series of Sunday readings, Saturday readings and the readings for weekdays were formed in subsequent periods, causing an internal stratification in the lectionaries. As a result, for example, textual differences can be observed when a pericope is repeated in one and the same lectionary[21]. With these structural mutations, there are also errors in the sequence of pericopes, the omission of a certain pericope (or its repetition) and the ensuing corrections[22].

[20] O. V. Loseva, 'Periodizacija drevnerusskich mesjaceslovov XI-XIV v.', *Drevnjaja Rus'*, 2 (4) (2001), p. 20.

[21] Which is inevitably also reflected in the Slavic tradition, and some even presume that a similar development took place in the context/history of the Slavic tradition, as was proposed by S. Ju. Temčin (M. Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien,* 2001, pp. 240-246).

[22] For a short, unsystematic *excursus* of the errors, omissions and mutations in the sequence of pericopes, in the same reading and in the rubric, see L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov*, Moskva, 1976., pp. 210-223.

In Slavic studies this book is generally called *aprakos*, which, in manuscript tradition, designates the lectionary containing readings from the Gospel or from the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Acts of the Apostles. The term *aprakosŭ* (*oprakosŭ*) is derived from the Greek ἄπρακτος, and is contained in the Greek expression that indicates the feasts (ἄπρακτοι ἡμέραι), but in Greek the term has not been maintained in this form, nor with this meaning. In Slavic manuscript tradition the term *evangelie izbornoe* is also used, already attested to in the *Codex Assemanianus* (As.)[23].

The matter of terminology is of great relevance considering that we are still in the phase of classifying the material. Following the tradition of New Testament studies, we will call the part of the Gospel lectionary that consists of pericopes for movable celebrations 'Synaxarion', and the part with pericopes for fixed celebrations 'Menologion'. Regarding the lists of pericopes of the Tetraevangelion (v. *supra*) – often generically called 'Synaxarion' and 'Menologion', creating confusion with the single parts of the Gospel lectionary – we prefer to speak of the 'lists of pericopes' of the Synaxarion or the Menologion. Liturgists and hagiologists have adopted a different terminology, adhering more generally to manuscript tradition, but with the risk of creating confusion[24]. Despite these terminological difficulties and uncertainties, which can not be attributed only to scholars, but also to the variety of terms that are present in the codices themselves, we should keep striving for a universally accepted definition of terminology.

The Slavic Gospel lectionary has two fundamental forms, determined by the extension of the first part, the Synaxarion, which contains the cycle of the movable feasts starting from Easter:

1. The lectionary for Saturdays and Sundays (*l*esk; in Russian generally *kratkij aprakos* 'short aprakos'), which contains the readings for the Saturday and Sunday of each week (σαββατοκυριακαί). Readings for each day are only provided (ἑβδομάδες) for the period from Easter until Pentecost;
2. The lectionary for weekdays (*l*e; in Russian generally *polnyj aprakos* 'complete aprakos'), which also contains the pericopes for weekdays (ἑβδομάδες). However, for the period of Great Lent it only offers the readings for Saturday and Sunday[25].

In addition to this form there is a heterogeneous group of testimonials, which we generically call 'festival lectionary' (*l*sk, *l*k; in Russian generally *aprakos prazdničnyi* or *voskresnyi*, which means 'festival aprakos' or 'for Sundays') that contains the readings for Holy Week and only for the Saturdays and Sundays

[23] The authoritative *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* to the *izborĭnŭ* voice, quoting the actual testimonials of As. mistakenly indicates the origin of this lemma in the Greek ἄπρακος (ἄπρακτος). In reality the Greek correspondent is (the) ἐκλογάδιον (see J. Karavidopoulos, 'The Origin and the History of the Terms 'Evangelistarion' and 'Evangeliarion'', *Orthodoxes Forum* 7, 2 (1993), pp. 177-183, see p. 181). In modern times the term *aprakos* is commonly used to indicate the lectionary, as attested to in recent years in studies by L. P. Žukovskaja (L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov,* 1976, p. 241, n.31). In a recent volume Anatoli Alekseev, on the trail of New Testament studies, prefers the designation of the Latin *lekcionarij*, even though he does not renounce the traditional *aprakos* (A. A. Alekseev, *Biblija v bogosluženii. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij*, 2008).

[24] For a short list of the terms used among liturgists, the study of Archbishop Sergij is still valid (Archiepiskop Sergij, *Polnyj mesjaceslov Vostoka*, vol. I *Vostočnaja agiologija*, Vladimir, 1901, particularly pp. 3-7), even though the definition of 'Menologion' in the general meaning of 'calendar' is not satisfying. Of great use is the liturgical index in the appendix to the edition of the Typikon of Messina (M. Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr.115 (a.D. 1131)*, Roma, 1969, pp. 376-449). According to the liturgists, the list of pericopes for the movable feasts has the name 'Canonarion', while the list for the fixed feasts is termed 'Synaxarion', in which can be distinguished the 'complete Synaxarion', a book that contains, apart from the mention of the saint, also a small Vita of each saint. Together the 'Canonarion' and the 'Synaxarion' comprise the liturgical calendar, with its movable and fixed parts, and represent the principal core of the Typikon.

[25] In Slavic studies the term 'long aprakos' is also currently used, even though L. P. Žukovskaja, followed by other scholars, prefers the term 'complete aprakos'. H. Lunt criticises this definition, because it suggests the existence of an 'abbreviated' lectionary, and prefers to speak of a 'long' and 'short' aprakos (H. G. Lunt, 'On Editing Early Slavic manuscripts: the Case of the Codex Suprasliensis, the Mstislav Gospel, and the Banica Gospel', *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* XXX (1984), pp. 7-76, see pp. 40-41).

(σαββατοκυριακαί), or only for the Sundays (κυριακαί) of each week of the liturgical year, usually starting at Easter, but sometimes at Lent or Holy Week. There is a varied choice of readings. This lectionary often contains readings from the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Acts of the Apostles[26].

In Slavic manuscript tradition, as in Greek tradition, we have been handed down a book that contains readings from the Epistles and the Gospel – the so-called 'Apostoloevangelion' (ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον, ἀποστολοευάγγελον). This book has substantially the same forms as the lectionary with pericopes from the Gospels. Following the tradition of New Testament studies, one can distinguish the Apostoloevangelion for Saturdays and Sundays (l^{+a}esk), the Apostoloevangelion for weekdays (l^{+a}e) and the festival Apostoloevangelion (l^{+a}sk, l^{+a}k). On the basis of the catalogues of Slavic manuscripts that have allowed us to construct a preliminary list of Slavic Gospel manuscripts, for many lectionaries containing pericopes from the Epistles of Saint Paul and Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel, we have been unable to say to which of these forms they belong[27].

6. The Synaxarion

The Synaxarion[28] contains the readings for the feasts of the liturgical year with a movable date, those which follow the lunar cycle, starting from Easter. The readings are divided according to diverse cycles.

1. From Easter to Pentecost the readings provided are almost exclusively from John[29]. The cycle consists of seven weeks, containing eight Sundays. In the Byzantine Gospel lectionary different ways of numbering these Sundays from Easter to Pentecost can be identified, reflecting the history of this book[30]. Following ancient tradition the oldest Slavic Saturday and Sunday lectionaries number the Sundays from one to eight, while the Saturday belongs to the preceding week. Regarding the name of Easter, the Greek codices prefer to call it 'Resurrection Sunday', whereas the Slavic codices speak of the 'Sunday of Light'. Furthermore, the Slavic lectionaries also preserve

[26] L. P. Žukovskaja, followed by other scholars, prefers to use the definition 'very short aprakos (*sverchkratkij*)' (L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov,* 1976, pp. 241ss.), while A. M. Pentkovskij, basing himself on definitions from New Testament studies (Saturday-Sunday, Sunday), gives the first a stricter meaning than the traditional one, and uses the term 'festive aprakos' for the lectionary with selected pericopes (*l* sel), which is not, however, found in the Slavic area (A. A. Alekseev, A. A Pičchadze, M. B. Babickaja, I. V. Azarova, E. L. Alekseeva, E. I. Vaneeva, A. M. Pentkovskij, V. A. Romodanovskaja, T. V. Tkačeva, *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavjanskoj tradicii*, 1998, Appendix I, p. 14). The presence of Apostle readings and the structural diversity of the known codices, regardless of linguistic arguments, induce one to reject the ancient origin, and even to question the very homogeneity of the group. Regarding the Greek lectionary C. R. Gregory mentions the existence of codices that contain only Saturday and Sunday readings (or only Sunday), or even only readings for weekdays, and other lectionaries with selected readings (C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* 1900-1909, I, p. 340).

[27] Marcello Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien*, 2001, pp. 509-584.

[28] Recollecting the testimony of numerous Slavic (290) and Greek (63) codices, E. Dogramadžieva presents different Slavic lemmas present in the Tetraevangelion that define the two principal sections of the liturgical calendar, the Synaxarion and the Menologion, both in the lectionary, as in the tables of the readings. Without distinguishing between the lectionaries and the Tetraevangelia, the scholar has identified a series of lemmas, present in the rubrics, which can designate sections, both the Synaxarion (seven lemmas) or the Menologion (ten lemmas). In an earlier period the term *sinaksarĭ* was especially common for the Synaxarion, and the lemma *mesęcĭ,* with the same root, was used to indicate the Menologion. After the XIV century other terms such as *skazanie* (δήλωσις) and *ukazĭ* became customary too. From the XV century onwards the term *skazanie* is customarily found for the Synaxarion, and *sŭbornikŭ* (συναξάριον) for the Menologion (E. Dogramadžieva, 'Nazvanija na bogosluzebnite kalendari v slavjanskite răkopisni evangelija', *Slavia,* LXI. 4 (1992), pp. 425-434).

[29] There are three exceptions, of which we recall the pericopes of the Tuesday after Easter. See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes,* 1900-1909, I, p. 336, n. 1.

[30] H. M. Buck, *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, (*Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament,* vol. II, n.4), Chicago, 1958.

the ancient name 'seventh Sunday' for Pentecost and the practice of calling the reading 'Gospel' (*evangelie*), as is done in only a few of the more conservative Greek codices (εὐαγγέλιον)[31]. When analysing the numbering and the designation of the Sundays in eighty-three codices of the Gospels (X-XIV century), Dogramadžieva encountered two different numbering systems in the cycle of John, whereby the counting starts either from Easter or from the week after Easter. Only certain Sundays that precede or follow the feast of Easter have their own designation[32]. The cycle is indicated with the name of John.

2. From the Monday after Pentecost until the New Year, in mid September[33], there is a series of pericopes from Matthew for the feasts. In the lectionary for weekdays, readings from Matthew are provided for the weekdays of the first ten or eleven weeks, while pericopes from Mark are used in the following weeks. The cycle consists of fifteen to seventeen weeks. The cycle is indicated with the name of Matthew.
3. From New Year up until the period before Lent, a series of pericopes from Luke is provided for the feasts, with some exceptions. In the first twelve or thirteen weeks, readings from Luke are read in the weekday lectionary, while in the following weeks pericopes from Mark are read. This cycle consists of sixteen of seventeen weeks and is referred to with the name of the evangelist Luke.
Žukovskaja has identified and analysed the principle differences in the scope of the cycles of Matthew and Luke, particularly focusing on the weekday readings for the seventeenth week and the choice for the first day of the week. The scholar presents a detailed scheme on this subject, based on the Mstislav Gospel, the codex GPB F.P.I.7 and the Miroslav Gospel[34]. In the same context Burns develops the analysis that identifies certain elements in Slavic tradition, which characterise the different forms of the Greek weekday lectionary, identified by W. C. Braithwaite[35]. The differences in the numbering of the weeks, in the choice of the first weekday, the inversions in the order of readings, and the presence of supplementary pericopes that are found in the broad Slavic manuscript tradition, make this research a very complex one that has not yet achieved definitive results.
4. The period preceding Lent provides readings for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Sunday of abstention from meat and the Sunday of abstention from dairy products. At times this cycle is closely united with the preceding one.

[31] Y. Burns, 'The Numbering of the Johannine Saturdays and Sundays in Early Greek and Slavonic Gospel Lectionaries', *Palaeobulgarica*, 2, 2 (1977) pp. 43-55.

[32] E. Dogramadžieva, 'Ozaglavjaneto na nedelnite dni v rannite slavjanski evangelski kalendari', *Palaeobulgarica*, XXII, 2 (1998), pp. 3-13.

[33] This cycle ends with the Sunday following 14th September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and is placed on a date that falls between the beginning of the Byzantine calendar – the 1st September, and 23rd September, the date on which the Birth of John the Baptist is celebrated (Ch.. Hannick, 'Liturgische Merkmale einer Bestimmung der kirchlichen Einflüsse in der Kiever Rus'', in *The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow*, ed. by A.-E. N. Tachiaos, Thessaloniki, 1992, pp. 306-319, see p. 315). We will not dwell on the relevance of these dates on an astronomic level or in the scope of the Hebraic tradition.

[34] L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov,* 1976, pp. 273-283, table 10.

[35] W. C. Braithwaite, 'The Lection System of the Codex Macedonianus', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1904), pp. 265-274. In this manner one can schematise the analysis of the American scholar. In the cycle of Matthew, the most ancient form, indicated by the Greek letter α, provides the series of readings from Matthew for 9 weeks, followed by 8 weeks of readings from Mark, while for the cycle of Luke readings from Luke are offered for 11 weeks that are followed by seven weeks of readings from Mark. Form β provides in the cycle of Matthew the series of readings from Matthew for 9 weeks, but leaves out the 8 weeks of readings from Mark, while in the cycle of Luke the readings from Luke for 11 weeks are offered, followed by the 7 weeks of readings from Mark. The form that is designated with the letter κ, the most widespread form, with a Constantinopolitan origin, provides in the cycle of Matthew the series of readings from Matthew for 11 weeks, followed by the 5 weeks of readings from Mark, while the cycle of Luke offers 12 weeks of readings from Luke, followed by 6 weeks of readings from Mark (see also A. A. Alekseev, *Biblija v bogosluženii. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij,* 2008, pp. 34-35)

5. For Lent, for which pericopes are also provided only for the feasts in the weekday lectionary, the pericopes read are from Mark, with the exception of two pericopes from John. The cycle comprises five weeks (six Sundays, including Palm Sunday). This cycle bears the name of the evangelist Mark[36].
6. Holy Week: readings are provided for the early morning service and the vespers of each day until the Liturgy of Holy Thursday. For the Washing of the Feet the two pericopes from John follow. Then, usually, the twelve 'Passion' readings are presented, followed by the four pericopes for the hours of Holy Friday. Finally we find the eleven readings for the Sunday mornings, which sometimes appear at the end of the Menologion[37].

In Slavic tradition, as in the Greek Gospel lectionary, the designation of the Sundays can vary, but we will speak of this when we deal with the lectionary rubric.

7. The Menologion

The Menologion[38] contains the readings for celebrating the feasts and the commemorations of the saints of the liturgical year that have a fixed date, because they follow the solar cycle, starting at the beginning of the Byzantine calendar, which is 1st September.

Excluding the twelve great feasts, there is a great variety both in the choice of pericopes and also in the saints commemorated and in the feasts celebrated; this is due to different liturgical traditions and local practices of venerating certain saints, as testified by the dedication of different churches and sanctuaries. From a quantitative perspective also, there are major differences between the Menologia: some only contain the most important commemorations and feasts, while others provide them for almost every day of the year. When determining the origin of codices, references to local saints and sanctuaries in particular can be very useful[39].

The systematic study of the commemorations of the saints in the Menologion, which can be quite useful for identifying the area of origin of codices and of ecclesiastical tradition, has only recently started. In the more recent history of these studies, J. Vrana was one of the first to study the commemorations of the Menologion in order to reconstruct the manuscript history of lectionaries, also comparing the indications with the liturgical apparatus of the Tetraevangelion. Even more recently E. Dogramadžieva, C. Vakareliyska and O. V. Loseva have been working in this field. The former published the results of her research in a monograph[40]. In addition we should mention the numerous studies on the Menologia of the single codices or of single commemorations, aimed at studying the veneration of saints and in general

[36] At times five pericopes are inserted for the vigils of the first week of Lent, called εὐαγγέλια εἰς τάς παννυχίδας (see C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 1900-1909, I, pp. 338-339, 361). In the list some pericopes in the appendix of the Banica Gospel or of the priest Ioann (Ban.) are indicated in the following manner: '*evangelja po vsę večery na mefimoně*'. The name *mefimonŭ* is derived from the passage of Is.8, 9, that begins with the words μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, and is sung during the vigil in the first week of Lent (see M. Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du saint-Sauveur à Messine,* 1969, p. 418).

[37] The morning readings, as noted by Marti, are left out in some Saturday and Sunday lectionaries. Instead, they are normally, but not always, found in the weekday lectionary. The situation of the readings in the hours of Holy Friday,, which does not allow for a grouping of the codices (R. Marti, *Handschrift - Text - Textgruppe - Literatur. Untersuchungen zur inneren Gliederung der frühen Literatur aus dem ostslavischen Sprachbereich in den Handschriften des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1989, p. 119), is complex.

[38] For the terminology adopted in the codices to designate this section of the lectionary v. supra n.14.

[39] J. Duplacy, 'Les lectionnaires et l'édition du Nouveau Testament grec', in *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux*, ed. by A. Descamps, A. de Halleux, Gembloux, 1970, pp. 509-545.

[40] E. Dogramadžieva, *Meseceslovnite četiva v slavjanskite răkopisni evangelija (X-XVII v.)*, Sofia, 2010 .

adding to the knowledge of the history of Orthodox Christianity. However, in order to reconstruct the history of the Slavic Menologion, one has to consider the broad context of the liturgical Byzantine-Slavic tradition, starting with the influence of the solemn liturgy of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople, as is confirmed by a comparison with the testimonies of the Typikon[41].

From the moment that the pericopes from the Menologion overlapped with the readings from the Synaxarion, they were no longer presented in their entirety, but referred instead to the cycle, the week (or Sunday) and to the day of the Synaxarion, citing the beginning (and the end) of the reading. Not infrequently, however, the reference is incorrect, or it reflects the use of different models. There are also cases of internal references to the Menologion, and in some exceptional cases internal references are also found in the Synaxarion. This naturally reflects on the dimensions of this part of the lectionary.

At the end of the Menologion a special section is usually found containing a list of readings for various particular occasions (*na vĭsěkǫ potrěbǫ*; the dedication of a church, sickness, etc.), but also the common readings for certain categories of feasts. On the basis of eighty manuscript testimonies from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, especially present in Bulgaria, Dogramadžieva reconstructs the structure of this section, trying to identify the transformations that evolved in the course of centuries[42]. After having considered the variants in the titles of the sections that are usually found after the Menologion, the different occasions for which a liturgical celebration is provided are analysed in detail. In the history of this section two periods can be distinguished. From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries this section offers fewer liturgical services, the different occasions are joined under the same title and there is a great variety in the presence, indication, order and number of readings, which frequently reflects the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, a gradual process of standardisation can be observed, related to the diffusion of the Jerusalem Typikon. The section that presents a more complex title, arranges the numerous occasions with more permanent titles in four blocks: for the anointment of the sick; for certain categories of commemorations, already indicated in the Menologion; for certain rites, such as the monastic profession, the consecration of a church etc.; and finally for natural disasters, for special events and for confession. A tendency to standardise is also present in the contents and in the indication of the readings, which are referred to simply by the name of the evangelist and the number of the pericope. In the great variety observed in this section, the repetitions and errors are also of considerable interest[43].

[41] For a preliminary overview see M. Garzaniti, 'Il culto dei santi nella Slavia ortodossa alla luce dei libri del Vangelo e dell'Apostolo. Prima parte', in *Liturgia e agiografia e tra Roma e Costantinopoli. Atti del I e II* Seminario di studi. *Roma – Grottaferrata 2000-2001*, ed. by K. Stanchev, S. Parenti, Grottaferrata, 2007, pp. 89-108 (the author has not revised the drafts!). For an analysis of the liturgical commemorations of the most ancient manuscript tradition of the Slavic Gospel and the Slavic Apostle, see M. Garzaniti, 'Il culto dei santi nella Slavia ortodossa: la testimonianza dei libri del Vangelo e dell'Apostolo. Sviluppi storici e diffusione geografica: l'eredità bizantina e la formazione della prima tradizione manoscritta (X-XI sec.)', in *Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente. Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al Concilio di Trento'. Atti del IV Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Firenze 26-28 ottobre 2000*, ed. by A. Benvenuti, M. Garzaniti, Roma, 2005, pp. 311-341. For the later tradition of the lectionaries see E. Dogramadžieva, 'Slavjanskijat aprakos sled văveždaneto na jerusalimskija ustav', 2007. Recently C. Vakareliyska compared the menologies of the Banica Gospel and the Curzon Gospel with a wide manuscripts *corpus* (C. Vakareliyska, *The Curzon Gospel*, I. *An Annotated Edition*, II. *A Linguistic and Textual Introduction*, New York, 2008, 2 vols., II, pp. 226-285).

[42] For a comparison with Greek manuscript tradition, certain Greek codices should be examined beside the edition of Gregory (see. *supra*), as well as the testimony of the Constantinopolitan Typikon according to the edition of J. Mateos (J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n°40, X-e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, 2 vols., Roma, 1962-1963).

[43] E. Dogramadžieva, *Pokazalecăt 'evangelija različni na vsjaka potreba' v slavjanskite răkopisni evangelija*, Sofia, 1998. In the appendix the Bulgarian scholar offers a list of the readings that reappear in the section with the indication of the chapter of Eusebius or the number of the pericope and the occasion for which the reading was provided. It follows the list of liturgical celebrations with their readings that also offers an approximate chronological indication of their use.

8. Lectionary rubrics

In the study of the structure of the Gospel lectionary, rubrics are of particular importance, representing its principal liturgical apparatus. Usually written in red, rubrics indicate the day and the week for which the reading is provided and the Gospel from which the reading is taken. Generally the weeks (or the Sundays) are designated with a progressive number, while the days are designated by their names, unlike in the Greek which indicates them with a number. The first day of the week can be a Saturday, Sunday or Monday, also corresponding to the different cycles. A gradual tendency for standardisation can, however, be observed. In certain cases the feasts have a specific name[44].

In the rubrics the pericope is called 'Gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον), according to an old tradition found in only a few of the most ancient Greek lectionaries (eighth to tenth centuries)[45]. To this indication the number of the section of Eusebius (v. *supra*) is usually added. On certain occasions the *prokimenŭ* (προκείμενον) or the *aleluiarii* (ἀλληλουιάριον) are also added; these are composed of one or more verses usually derived from a psalm, that precede the readings from the Holy Scripture. The *aleluiarii* specifically precede the Gospel reading. If a second verse follows, the rubric introduces it with the term *stichŭ* (στίχος). Usually the verses are not set out in full: only the beginning is cited, sometimes the beginning and the end. Normally there is also an indication of the tone, or mode (*glasŭ*, ἦχος), which is the melody, according to which these verses are to be chanted[46].

A series of errors can frequently be found in the rubrics: errors in the day and the number of the week, errors in the numbering of the sections of Eusebius, in the *aleluiarii*, the name of the wrong evangelist in the Synaxarion and of the months in the Menologion, errors in the references in the Menologion. Such errors in the references could be very useful for understanding the structure of the lectionary and an important element for the study of their manuscript tradition[47].

[44] Regarding the name of the first Sunday (or week) after Easter in the Greek and Slavic lectionary, see the interesting observations of Y. Burns and H. . Lunt (Y. Burns, 'The Numbering of the Johannine Saturdays and Sundays in Early Greek and Slavonic Gospel Lectionaries', 1977, p. 53; H. G. Lunt, 'On Editing Early Slavic manuscripts', 1984, pp. 55-56). On this subject, see also the study of L. Moszyński, which analyses the names of the feasts, days and months in As., the Savvina Book (Sk) and the Gospel of Ostromir and in the notes in the margin of the Tetraevangelia Marianus (Mar.) and Zogr. (L. Moszyński, 'Nazwy świąt chrześcijańskich w najstarszych staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskich rękopisach ewangelijnych', *Filologia Polska*, X. *Językoznawstwo* (1973), pp. 105-116) and the thoughts of Ch. Hannick about the days of the week and the meaning of *nedělja* (Sunday and Saturday) in the context of the liturgical calendar (Ch. Hannick, 'Zu den slavischen Bezeichnungen für die Wochentage', in *Ars Philologica Slava. Festschrift für Heinrich Kunstmann*, ed. by V. Setschkareff, P. Rehder, H. Schmid, München, 1988, pp. 162-165). In the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, in the Russian area the term *voskresenie* ('resurrection') assumes the meaning of 'Sunday', while in the same area *nedělja* comes to mean only 'week.'

[45] Y. Burns, 'The Numbering of the Johannine Saturdays and Sundays in Early Greek and Slavonic Gospel Lectionaries', 1977, p. 53.

[46] For an analysis of the psalm verses of the *prokimenŭ* and the *aleluiarii* that are present in the most ancient Gospels and Apostle codices, see Marcello Garzaniti, 'Psalmy i ich perevod v Evangelii i Apostole (X-XI vv.)', in *Mnogokratnite prevodi v južnoslavjanskoto srednevekovie. Dokladi ot meždunarodnata konferencija. Sofija, 7-9 juli 2005 g.*, ed. by L. Taseva, R. Marti, M. Jovčeva, T. Pentkovskaja, Sofia, 2006, pp. 57-90.

[47] The matter of the Mstislav Gospel (Mst.) was noted by Lunt (H. G. Lunt, 'On Editing Early Slavic manuscripts: the Case of the Codex Suprasliensis, the Mstislav Gospel, and the Banica Gospel', 1984, pp. 42-43).

9. Lectionary pericopes

The pericope features initial or introductive formulas, of which the following six reappear most often[48]:

I. *Vŭ ono vremę* (At that time)
II. *Reče gospodĭ svoimŭ ucenikomŭ* (Said the Lord to his disciples)
III. *Reče gospodĭ kŭ prišĭdŭšiimŭ kŭ nemu ijudeomŭ* (Said the Lord to the Jews that came to him)
IV. *Reče gospodĭ kŭ věrovavŭšiimŭ kŭ nemu ijudeomŭ* (Said the Lord to the Jews that believed in him)
V. *Reče gospodĭ* (Said the Lord)
VI. *Reče gospodĭ pritŭčǫ sijǫ* (Said the Lord in this parable)

In addition to these there are other *incipits* that introduce particular readings.

In the pericope, especially in the first verse, a series of adjustments occurs compared to the continuous Gospel text[49]. Here, the beginning and the final verse may be summarised, or partly omitted. The adjustments, compared to the continuous text, are called 'liturgical variants'[50].

In the study of the pericope, not only do the *incipit* and the *explicit* of the pericope acquire importance, but also the composition of the pericope that generally contains a homogeneous fragment of the Gospel. In some cases, however, we find a composition of different passages. In book tradition changes in the contents of the reading can be observed, with additions, omissions or rearrangements[51].

10. Other elements of the lectionary structure

Other elements in the structure of the lectionary can be observed. The division of the text may be indicated by miniatures, frames, titles, initials etc... Unfortunately, studies of the ornamentation of texts frequently fail to consider its internal function in the codex, at times making the interpretation more difficult[52].

[48] See A. A. Alekseev, *Biblija v bogosluženii. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij,* 2008, p. 39. For the Greek text see P. H. Droosten, 'Proems of Liturgical Lections and Gospels', *Journal of Theological Studies* 6, 1 (1904), pp. 99-107, but also E. C. Colwell, D. W. Riddle, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, I. *Prolegomena to the Study of theLectionary Text of the Gospel,* Chicago, 1933, p. 84.

[49] We have partly elaborated the observations of E. C. Colwell, D. W. Riddle and A. A. Alekseev (E. C. Colwell, D. W. Riddle, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, 1933, p. 2; A. A. Alekseev, 'Grečeskij lekcionarij i slavjanskij aprakos', in *Litterae slavicae Medii Aevii*, ed. by J. Reinhart, München, 1985, pp. 11-17, see p. 12), which can be summarised as followed: a) the substitution of the pronoun with the proper name; b) the dropping of conjunctions, temporal adverbs, temporal objects or clauses; c) the addition of the subject and the object to the verbs, and first of all the name of Jesus to the verbs that express enunciation; d) the placing of the subject after the verb.

[50] Following K. Horálek, who speaks of 'textual critical variants' and of 'linguistic variants', A. A. Alekseev distinguishes 'textual variants' that date from original Greek, and 'lexical variants', in which the Slavic version of the Gospels abounds. According to A. A. Alekseev, from the moment the 'liturgical variants', appear in original Greek, they are counted as textual variants (A. A. Alekseev, 'Grečeskij lekcionarij i slavjanskij aprakos', 1985, pp. 14-15). In reality, however, the distinction between 'textual variants' and 'lexical variants' is not that rigid. As was observed by Lunt, the key to certain lexical variants can also be found in the Greek text (H. G. Lunt, 'On Editing Early Slavic manuscripts: the Case of the Codex Suprasliensis, the Mstislav Gospel, and the Banica Gospel', 1984, p. 51).

[51] The reading for the Friday of the Holy Week, for example, undergoes a progressive rearrangement: first Luke 23. 39-43 is placed after Matthew 26. 38; then Matthew 27. 44 is inserted, which in certain lectionaries, however, is found in abbreviated form (L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov,* 1976, pp. 215-222). For some interesting omissions, see A. A Alekseev, *Biblija v bogosluženii. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij,* 2008, pp. 74-76.

[52] L. P. Žukovskaja has rightly suggested extending the 'typological' approach to the study of miniatures and initials. This paints a promising picture, for example, if you consider the place that is occupied by the miniature of the evangelist Mark and the ornamentation for the week after Pentecost in some lectionaries, or the distribution of the miniatures of the

In certain old lectionaries such as the OE and the Novogorod *Folia* (Kupr.), 'ecphonetic notation' is present (from ἐκφώνησις 'read out loud') for the *lectio solemnis* of the pericope.

11. Variants of the liturgical apparatus

This brief *excursus* through the structure of the books that contain the Slavic version of the Gospels reveals the complexity of the liturgical apparatus of both the Tetraevangelia and the Gospel lectionaries. An examination of the manuscript tradition shows that the marginal liturgical notes, starting with the rubric, offer an extraordinary amount of variants, displaying the gradual formation of Byzantine liturgical tradition, which is reflected by the Slavic tradition. These variants of liturgical apparatus, as textual variants, are not only transmitted from codex to codex, but also 'horizontally', when more than one *antigraph* is used, when lists of pericopes are consulted, or when other liturgical books are used. This contamination, or total or partial collation of different models, leads to the phenomenon of 'conflation', which makes it practically impossible to regroup the codices into families[53].

Already in the most ancient tradition, a series of variants in liturgical apparatus can be observed. We have particularly examined the Synaxarion of the oldest lectionaries: the Glagolitic Gospel As. and the Cyrillic codices, Sk and OE. To these we have added the Vatican Palimpsest (Pal. Vat.), but also the Gospel of Arkhangelsk (Arx.). Here we are dealing with Saturday and Sunday lectionaries. It would be very interesting to make a comparison of their structure with the marginal liturgical notes of Mar. and Zogr, and the list of pericopes that are found at the end of CGADA Sin.tip.1 of the XII century[54].

In a comparison of the structure of Sav., As., OE and Arch., Žukovskaja has already observed some of the principle differences: the inversion of the pericopes of the 6th and 7th Sunday of the cycle of Luke in Sav. and Arch. compared to As., OE; the presence of different readings on the 17th Sunday of the same cycle (in Sav. the pericope is missing); the presence or absence of morning readings for Holy Week[55]. Even variants in the indication of the *incipit* can be observed[56].

Here, however, we have only dealt with the most evident differences, accompanied by a great number of variants. For the moment we will just offer a few examples of these in the appendix to show the complexity of this analysis.

evangelists in OE. The comparison with Greek lectionaries, mentioned only on the subject of the initials (but immediately denied), deserved greater exploration (L. P. Žukovskaja, 'Svjaz' izučenija izobrazitel'nych sredstv i tekstologii pamjatnika' in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisnaja kniga. Sbornik vtoroj*, ed. by V. N. Lazarev, O. I. Podobedova, S. O. Šmidt, Moskva, 1974, pp. 58-69).

[53] G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo,* 2nd ed., Firenze, 1952, p. XVII.

[54] A. A. Alekseev, A. A Pičchadze, M. B. Babickaja, I. V. Azarova, E. L. Alekseeva, E. I. Vaneeva, A. M. Pentkovskij, V. A. Romodanovskaja, T. V. Tkačeva, *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavjanskoj tradicii*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1998, pp. 43-54.

[55] L. P. Žukovskaja, 'Tekstologičeskoe issledovanie nasledija Kirilla Filosofa', in *Konstantin-Kiril filosof. Dokladi ot Simpoziuma, posveten na 1100-godišninata ot smărtta mu*, ed. by B. St. Angelov, D. Angelov, E. Georgiev, P. Dinekov, K. M. Kuev, K. Mirčev, Sofia, 1971, pp. 31-40.

[56] In the past some variants in this field had already been observed. For example in Lk. 16, 19-31 As. and OE have the fifth incipit, while in Sav. and Vuk. the sixth is provided; for Jn. 5, 30-6, 2 OE has the third, where As. and Vuk. provide the fourth. In the first and second incipit in OE there is often an inversion in the order of the words, for which we distinguish between incipit I and incipit Ia (M. Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien,* 2001, Appendix I). The inversion in the first incipit was previously noted by H. G. Lunt (H. G. Lunt, 'On Editing Early Slavic manuscripts: the Case of the Codex Suprasliensis, the Mstislav Gospel, and the Banica Gospel', p. 56). The presence of the second and fifth incipit, the inversion in the second incipit and the incoherent use of the first incipit in Jur. and other weekday lectionaries, on the other hand, were observed by L. P. Žukovskaja (L. P. Žukovskaja, 'Jur>evskoe evangelie v krugu rodstvennych pamjatnikov', in *Issledovanie istočnikov po istorii russkogo jazyka i pis'mennosti,* ed. by L. P. Žukovskaja, N. I. Tarabasova, Moskva, 1966, pp. 44-76. See pp. 54-60, 68-70, 73-75).

12. Conclusions

From the beginning of the history of the Tetraevangelion and the Gospel lectionary certain variants and modifications have clearly emerged; when we study them diachronically, we can make an adequate classification of the material. Of course this research must not only be limited to the Slavic domain, but should consider the broader context of manuscript tradition in the entire Byzantine region.

The history of each form of this book is not autonomous; not in its origin, because from the very beginning one form has depended on the other; nor in its development, since in the course of textual tradition, all forms have influenced each other and have participated in the very complex history of the development of the liturgical books.

In the Slavic region, alongside the controversy about the book form of the first translation of the Gospels, experts are still discussing the origin of the weekday lectionary. According to some, this is the original form (J. Vrana), for others it originated in Russia at the end of the eleventh, beginning of the twelfth century (Voskresenskij and Žukovskaja). Others again believe that it had already been formed in the Bulgarian region in the tenth century, and that from there it spread into Russia and Serbia (Dobrev, Alekseev). Our knowledge of the so-called festive lectionary is still too limited. It does, however, concern a form of later origin, common in the poorer communities that could not afford two separate books; a Gospel and the Epistles of Saint Paul and Acts of the Apostles.

The role that the lists of pericopes found in the Tetraevangelion and the Typikon have played from the beginning, for the entire liturgical year, should not be forgotten: the structure of the first Slavic lectionary and the following modifications probably go back to these lists. According to Burns, the starting point of Slavic tradition could have been an actual list of pericopes and the Tetraevangelion text, after which additions were made on the basis of other lists. The presence of the numbers of the sections of Eusebius in the lectionaries, which appear to be useless in this book, would testify to this[57]. Given the complexity of the operation, K. and B. Aland observe that save some rare exceptions, this could have happened only in the initial phase of manuscript tradition[58].

In the Saturday and Sunday Gospel lectionary the influence of the Typikon of the Great Church in Constantinople is evident, while the weekday lectionary in its archaic form (Mir.) depends on the liturgical Tetraevangelion. On the other hand, its innovative form (Mst.) is based on the Saturday and Sunday lectionary. Anyway, due attention should be paid to the relationships between the Gospel lectionary and the Tetraevangelion and the whole complex of liturgical books, first and foremost the Typikon.

In the light of this reflection the study of the Gospel manuscripts assumes a new orientation: the single verse can no longer be considered the only reference unit, but also the division into chapters, the division into pericopes. The need emerges to analyse the materials offered by the rubrics, the liturgical notes and the appendices. The elaboration of these data will contribute to the reconstruction of the structure of the books, identifying the fundamental stages of the Slavic version of the Gospels in the broader context of the Byzantine tradition with greater certainty.

[57] Y. Burns, 'Some Aspects of Slavonic Gospel Manuscripts and Their Greek Counterparts', *Polata Kŭnigopis'naja,* 7 (1983), pp. 77-85. See p. 82.

[58] K. aland, B. aland, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapids-Leiden, 1987, pp. 165-166.

Appendix

Remarkable variants of the liturgical apparatus in the most ancient Slavic lectionaries

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit

John

Sunday 2

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
Sk (I part)	13v.-15v.	Jh	Jh.20, 19-31	Apostle Thomas	Sǫštju pozdě
As	6v.-7v.	Jh 213	Jh.20, 19-31	2 Antipascha	Sǫštju pozdě
PalVat	111-111v. (3-4)	Jh 213	Jh. 20, 19-26	2 Antipascha	Sǫštju pozdě
OE	10v.-11v.	Jh 213	Jh. 20, 19-31	1 ApostleThomas	Sǫštju pozdě

Friday 5

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
As	23-23v.	Jh 92	Jh.10, 17-28	Friday 5	III
PalVat	25v.48-48v. (28-30)	Jh 92	Jh. 10, 17-30	Friday 5	III
OE	36-37	Jh 92	Jh.10, 17-28	Friday 5	III
Arx	6v.-7	Jh 92	Jh.10, 17-30	Friday 5	III

Sunday 7

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
Sk	25v.-26v.	Jh 193	Jh.17, 1-13	Sunday 7	I
As	30	Jh.	Jh. 17, 1.13	Sunday 7 Fathers of Nicea	I
OE	47-48	Jh 153	Jh.17, 1-13	Sunday 7	Ia
Arx	16-17	Jh 153	Jh.17, 1-13	Sunday 7 318 Fathers of Nicea	I

Matthew

Sunday 1 after Pentecoste

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
Sk	32v.-33	Mt 83	Mt.10, 32-33.37.39.40; 19, 27-30	Sunday 1 after Pentecost. All Saints	II
As	34-34v.	Mt	Mt.10, 32-33.37-39; 19, 27-30	Sunday 1 after 50. All Saints *Aleluiarii*	II
PalVat	9-9v.31 (43-45)	Mt 93	Mt.10, 32-33.37-38; 19, 27-30	Sunday 1 dopo Pentecost (here follow two illegible lines)	IIa
OE	58v.-59v.	Mt 93	Mt.10, 32-33.37-38; 19, 27-30	Sunday 1 after 50. All Saints	IIa
Arx	25-26	Mt	Mt.10, 32-33. 37-38; 19, 27-30	Sunday 1 after Pentecost. All Saints. *Aleluiarii*	II

Codex	**ff.**	**Chapter**	**Pericope**	**Name feast**	**Incipit**

Sunday 9

Sk	42v.-43	Mt.218[59]	Mt.14, 22-23. 25-34	Sunday 9	I
As	41v.-42v.	Mt.	Mt.14, 22-34	Sunday 9 after 50	I
OE	71-72	Mt.147(148)	Mt.14, 22-34	Sunday 9 after 50	Ia
Arx	36-37	Mt. 65	Mt.14, 22-34	Sunday 9	I

Sunday 15

Sk	49-49v.	Mt.	Mt.22, 35-46	Sunday 15	I
As	49-49v.	Mt 224	Mt.22, 35-46	Sunday 15 after 50	I
PalVat	16v.57 (58-59)	Mt 224	Mt. 22, 35-46	Sunday 15 after 50	I
OE	82-83	Mt 259[60]	Mt.22, 35-46	Sunday 15 after 50	Ia
Arx	46-46v.	Mt 224[61]	Mt.22, 35-46	Sunday 15	I

Luke

Sunday 6

Sk	54-55v.	Lk	Lk.8, 41-56	Sunday 6	I
As	56-57	Lk 83	Lk.8,27-35.38-39	Sunday 6 of the New Year	I
OE	98-99v.	Lk 83	Lk.8, 27-39	Sunday 6 of the New Year	Ia
Arx	53v.-55	Lk	Lk.8, 41-56	Sunday 6	I

Sunday 7

Sk	55v.-57	Lk	Lk.8, 27-39	Sunday 7	I
As	57-58	Lk 85	Lk. 8, 41-56	Sunday 7 of the New Year	I
OE	100-101v.	Lk 85	Lk. 8, 41-56	Sunday 7 of the New Year	Ia
Arx	55v.-57	Lk	Lk.8, 27-39	Sunday 7	I

Sunday 14

Sk	66-66v.	Lk 224	Lk.17, 3-10	Sunday 14	V
As	65-65v.	Lk 224	Lk.18, 35-43	Sunday 14 of the New Year	I
PalVat	62v. (70)	Lk 224	Lk.18, 35-43	Sunday 14 of the New Year	I
OE	112-112v.	Lk 224	Lk.18, 35-43	Sunday 14 of the New Year	Ia
Arx	66v.-67	Lk 224	Lk.18, 35-43	Sunday 14	I

[59] In the apparatus it is explained that the chapter refers to the Sunday 13 after Pentecost.
[60] The number is confused with the one in the subsequent rubric.
[61] The editor has not read the last letter correctly, which has to be d (4) and not 1 (30).

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit

Saturday 15

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
Sk	66v.-67	Lk	Lk.18, 2-8	Saturday 15	VI
As	65v.-66	Lk 19(?)	Lk.17, 3-10	Saturday 15 of the New Year	V
PalVat	62v. (70)	Lk 198	Lk.17, 3-6	Saturday 15 of the New Year	V
OE	112v.113v.	Lk 198	Lk.17, 3-10	Saturday 15 of the New Year	V
Arx	67-68	Lk 124	Lk.17, 3-10	Saturday 15	V

Mark

Holy Tuesday

Codex	ff.	Chapter	Pericope	Name feast	Incipit
Sk	90v.-93v.	Jh (sic!) 260	Mt.24, 36-51; 25, 1-31[62]	Tuesday of the Great Sunday	II
As	84v.-87	Mt 207	Mt.24, 36-51; 25, 1-31; 26, 1-2[63]	Tuesday of the Holy Sunday	IIa
PalVat	22-22v. (95-96)	Mt 260	Mt.24, 36-51; 25, 3-4[64]	Tuesday of the Holy Sunday	IIa
OE	146v.-152v.	Mt 260	Mt.24, 36-43; 25, 1-31; 26, 1-2[65]	Tuesday of the Great Sunday	II
Arx	85-86v.	-	Mt. 25, 26-46[66]	-	

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[62] In the margin of 25. 1 an incipit is indicated (for the Saturday 15 of Matthew). This verse begins with the capital (letter) T. At v. 14 the explicit of the reading is indicated in the margin. In the verse there are two capitals (Ja, P); in the same place the incipit of the Sunday 16 of Matthew is indicated. In the margin of verse 29 the explicit is indicated. Before v. 31 one can read a short rubric with the indication 'and this explicit for the Sunday of the abstention of meat'.

[63] In 24. 42 one can observe a capital B. In the margin of 24.48 an explicit is indicated. The verse begins with the capital A. In the margin of 25. 1, an incipit is indicated. In the margin of 25. 29 an explicit is indicated, and in the margin of 25.31 an incipit is indicated. After v. 31 one can read a short rubric with the indication 'written for the Sunday of abstention of meat, seek it there. And add this at the end'.

[64] These are the verses the editor has deciphered. In the margin of v. 24, 42 is indicated an incipit.

[65] Matthew. 25. 1 begins with the decorated letter (capital) T; Matthew 25.14 with the decorated letter Ja; Matthew. 25. 31 with the decorated letter Je.

[66] The lacuna is interrupted at Matthew 25. 26.

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The cohesion between the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the Byzantine liturgical pericope system in Tetraevangelion codices

Stages in the creation, establishment and evolution of Byzantine codex forms

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Abstract

In this article Royé discusses the topic of the study of apparatuses in Tetraevangelion and Evangelion manuscripts, concentrating on the early Byzantine Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the later middle Byzantine liturgical pericope system. Evidence is provided in the form of concordant tables that the Ammonian-Eusebian numbers are used in the codices Cyprus and Campianus (IX century) to indicate the liturgical pericopes. The central question raised is: is there, beside a numerical connection, also a conceptual relationship between the two systems? Did the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus contribute to the development of the liturgical reading system(s)?

1. Preliminary

Current work on the first volume of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts (CBM) concerns the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices[1]. The extant codices of these types stem mainly from the eighth century onwards[2]. Of the more complete specimens of the Tetraevangelion group, only codex Washingtonianus (W 032, fourth/fifth century) and the dislocated pieces of codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022, sixth century), fall below this demarcation line, and there are many fragmentary pre-eighth century Tetraevangelion codices[3] in which liturgical rudiments are preserved[4].

[1] Tetraevangelion codices (Gregory/Aland e) contain the continuous text of the four Gospels in chronological order. Cf. the ἐξεδόθη notes in Codex Cyprius below, in which the dates of the composition of the Gospels are given according to the 'years after the Ascension of Christ' (Matthew 8 years, Mark 10 years, Luke 15 years, John 32 years). For alternative arrangements of four Gospel codices, see C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1902, bd. II, pp. 854-56. Evangelion codices (Gregory/Aland *l* and subgroups) contain the readings of the four Gospels in liturgical order. They contain in its full form: 1. synaxarion: John, Matthew/Mark, Luke/Mark and Mark; 2. heothina anastasima; 3. menologion; 4. diaphora. An Evangelion (Gospel lectionary) is, in fact, a recomposed liturgical Tetraevangelion. Many Tetraevangelion codices were equipped with liturgical apparati. In codex titles and in Greek catalogues the designations 'Tetraevangelion' and 'Evangelion' are often used in the same sense and interchangeably. Scholarship demands two distinctive designations.

[2] See for the eighth ('post-seventh') century demarcation line and the earliest production of Evangelion codices since that time up to the eleventh century, C. R. D. Jordan, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th – 11th century)*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2009), pp. 10-13, 339 and his list of 126 E codices.

[3] Pictures and short descriptions of several of the more important codices are provided in W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament*, Chicago, Ill., 1939. See also C. R. Gregory I 1900, 'Unzialhandschriften', pp. 18-96; liturgical apparatus data were omitted in K. Aland (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* Berlin-New York, 1994, 'Majuskeln', pp. 19-44.

[4] Tetraevangelion fragments with lection elements are mentioned in Y. Burns, 'The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries', in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik 32/4* (Akten II/4, XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress Wien, 4-9 Oktober, 1981), Vienna, 1982, pp. 119-127, see esp. p. 126 and n. 29 (e 044, e 07, e 019). This list is far from exhaustive.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 55-116.

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Of the Evangelion group (Gospel lectionaries) only fragmented specimens have been preserved[5], for instance of the fifth century (*l* 1043)[6] and the seventh century (*l* 355 = 0302)[7].

It was in the eighth and ninth centuries that important developments took place in codico-liturgical evolution: 1) the Tetraevangelion codex form was definitively transformed (after earlier stages of development[8]) into a new codex type: the Evangelion – a liturgically recomposed Tetraevangelion[9]; 2) the majuscule script was transformed into the minuscule script (but both script forms continued to coexist up until the twelfth century), of which the dated Tetraevangelion codex of A.D. 835[10] is considered to be one of the first specimens[11]. This Tetraevangelion, most probably written in the calligraphic milieu of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, came from the Sabbas monastery (in Palestine) to Russia in the seventeenth century and includes a liturgical apparatus, which should be investigated minutely[12]; 3) an approved new liturgical pericope numbering system was brought into use (to date the earliest specimens are codices from the tenth century, but we expect that specimens from the ninth century will be discovered). We will present in this article the liturgical apparatus of one fourteenth-century codex (Karakallou 300), which was made at a time when the liturgical apparatus and the new numbering system were well-established.

The abovementioned codico-liturgical reforms took place precisely in a period when the Byzantine liturgical programme was becoming accomplished and fixed in a more definite form and was providing the fundamental structure of the different codex forms (not only of the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion, but also of the Praxapostolos, Apostolos, Psalterion, Prophetologion, and other types of codices, which were created from this time onwards). This liturgical programme is expressed by the Typikon codices of the time.

5 Concerning the earliest Christian papyrus fragments with lectionary elements, see E. v. Dobschuetz, 'Zur Liste der NTlichen Handschriften IV', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 32 (1933), pp. 185-206, see p. 202, who mentions 'Lektionaren' of the third and sixth/seventh centuries : P 3 (VI/VII), P 4 (III), P 5? (III) and P 44 (VI/VII). A closer look at (anagnostico-) liturgical elements in the earliest papyrus delivery is necessary.

6 See C. R. D. Jordan 2009, p. 11.

7 See Y. Burns 1982, pp. 125-126.

8 See the research of Yvonne Burns: Y. Burns, 'Chapter Numbers in Greek and Slavonic Gospel Codices', *New Testament Studies* 23 (1977a), pp. 320-333; Y. Burns, 'The Numbering of the Johannine Saturdays and Sundays in Early Greek and Slavonic Lectionaries', *Palaeobulgarica*, 1.2 (1977b), pp. 43-55; Y. Burns, 'The Greek Manuscripts connected by their Lection Systems with the Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionaries', *Studia Biblica*, 2 (1978), pp. 13-28; Y. Burns 1982; Y. Burns, 'The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople', *Studia Patristica*, 15 (1984), pp. 515-520.

9 See the recent study of Chris Jordan concerning the conception and earliest transmission of Evangelion codices (eighth to eleventh centuries). He selected and studied 126 E codices (listed on pp. 44-52), with one specimen of the eighth (excluding, however *l* 293, a palimpsest of central relevance), twelve of the ninth, thirty two of the tenth, four of the tenth/eleventh and seventy five of the eleventh centuries. Of this group are thirty-seven 'full type Evangelion' (e type) and eighty-three 'middle type' (esk type). Of particular interest is that since their conception (first specimens in the eighth century: *l* 293 and *l* 627) Evangelion codices were written in majuscule script and that this calligraphic custom continued to be dominant until the twelfth century. See C. R. D. Jordan 2009, pp. 54-55.

10 The manuscript is kept in St. Petersburg, Gosudarstvennaja Publitschnaja Biblioteka, Gr. 219 (Gregory-Aland 461; Von Soden ε 92 with Lect). Cf. E. E. Granstrem, 'Zur byzantinischen Minuskel', in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. by D. Harlfinger, Darmstadt, 1980, pp. 76-119; A. Diller, 'A Companion to the Uspensky Gospels', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 49 (1956), pp. 332-335; G. Zereteli, 'Wo ist das Tetraevangelium von Porphyrius Uspenskij aus dem Jahre 835 entstanden', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 9 (1900), pp. 649-653. (Cf. B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, 4th edition, New York-Oxford, 2005, p. 18).

11 In Tetraevangelion Gr. 219 (see n. 10) the heading of each Gospel, the lection notes and the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers (in the margins) are written in majuscule script [relatively small capitals], see B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*, New York-Oxford, 1981, p. 102 under no 26. The reproduction shows the heading [ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ], the lection note in the right margins [ΤΗΣ Κ (ΥΡΙΑΚΗΣ) ΠΡΟ Τ (ΩΝ) ΦΩΤΩΝ: 'on the Sunday before Theophany'], referring to Mark 1. 1-8 (pericope number Α'), a reading which was apparently part of the anagnostic-liturgical cycles in the ninth century, and the Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers in the left margins.

12 See Y. Burns 1978, p. 18.

Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices from the eighth century onwards did not appear out of the blue. In this contribution we will cross this borderline in order to bridge the evolution of the Tetraevangelion codex from the fourth to the ninth century, with the help of the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus, which started being used for the Byzantine liturgical apparatus during this period[13]. The Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus functioned as an intermediary to two hermeneutical systems, one a textual concordant and the other liturgical-calendaric.

2. Two interconnected Byzantine apparatuses

There are two ancient Christian pericope (textual division)[14] systems, a textual and hermeneutic-concordant ('four Gospel synopsis') and a liturgical-calendric apparatus ('four Gospel synopsis in liturgical format'). These are found in Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices. The first apparatus stems from the early Christian period (third-fourth centuries)[15] and is found in the Tetraevangelion codex; the second liturgical calendric (and concordant) apparatus evolved during the early Byzantine period (fourth to eighth centuries) and formed the basis for the Evangelion codex prototype, which was developed with the help of the Tetraevangelion codex and its liturgical apparatus. The former is attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria and was perfected by Eusebius of Caesarea and the latter was the anonymous conception of the Byzantine liturgical reading system. The first was the fruit of cooperation and consensus, not the work of any one early church father. The Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus was rapidly accepted and distributed, which can be deduced from the manuscript delivery (from the fourth to the eighth centuries)[16]. The second originated from liturgical practice and was gradually developed over several ages, culminating in the eighth century with the anagnostic-liturgical system of the Byzantine ecclesiastical calendar. The engagement with this liturgical system of different Eastern patriarchates (Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople), churches and monasteries, with liturgical contributions (we may conjecture with some right) from such influential Byzantine fathers as Cyril of Jerusalem, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianz, Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Maximos Homologetes, Sabbas the Sanctified, Sophronios of Jerusalem, John of Damascus, Theodore the Studite and others, is not improbable, although this assumption is based on hypothesis. But one should consider and try to understand the fact that the composition of the synaxarion of the Church was an anonym and concealed endeavour of many generations of churchmen, which were responsible for the daily liturgical programme, the ecclesiarchs and hymnographers. How the Byzantine liturgical calendar was conceived and which creative processes led to the formation of the liturgical structures, will probably remain shrouded in darkness, even if some aspects may be elucidated by future research[17].

[13] This was acknowledged by Y. Burns 1977a, p. 327.

[14] The designation 'pericope' (περικοπή), indicating a 'confined section' of the text of Scripture (OT and NT) was already in use in early Christianity, for instance by Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others (cf. J. C. Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus, e patribus Græcis ordine alphabetico exhibens quæcunque phrases, ritus, dogmata, hæreses, & hujusmodi alia spectant*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Utrecht, 1746, p. 674, with examples). Also the expression 'chapters' (κεφάλαια) was used as an equivalent for pericopes.

[15] I do not discuss in this paper other early Byzantine pericope systems, as attested in codex Vaticanus (and some other manuscripts) with the following chapter divisions (κεφάλαια): Matthew 170, Mark 62, Luke 152 and John 80 chapters. Neither do I discuss the so-called Great Chapters preserved in codex Alexandrinus and many other manuscripts: Matthew 68, Mark 48, Luke 83 and John 18 chapters. Cf. Y. Burns 1977a, pp. 321-323; B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman 2005, pp. 34-39.

[16] See E. Nestle, 'Die Eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse', *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 19 (1908), pp. 40-51, 93-114, 219-232, esp. pp. 103-106; C. R. Gregory II 1902, p. 862.

[17] See the general overview in T. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, second, emended edition, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1991, (Bibliography on pp. 239-248); and the well-documented study of J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy*

The central observation discussed in this article is that there exists a connection between the two systems. Both apparatuses provide a concordant "hermeneutic" (interpretative) system concerning the presupposed "four Gospels symphony", the one concerning the internal textual and thematic correspondences between the four canonical Gospels (varying in length from one verse to large passages), the other concerning the liturgical passages of the four Gospels read during the whole Byzantine ecclesiastical year and used as one concordant-symphonic network modelled into a temporal-calendric format. The central question we have explored is: does there exist, beside the formal numerical connection between the two apparatuses (demonstrated in the attached tables) also an internal conceptual relationship? And related to this the intriguing question: did not the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus contribute essentially to the creation and development of the liturgical reading system(s), together with the conception of the Synaxarion structure in the time of Eusebius himself and in the ages after him, up until the time of the accomplishment of the full Byzantine calendar? The liturgical-historical observation of the accomplishment of the Byzantine calendar (in the seventh-eighth century) is of utmost relevance for CBM research, as we shall explain, and it has been confirmed by others[18]. The influential early Christian pericope system of the Ammonius-Eusebius apparatus (third-fourth centuries), including the Letter to Carpianus (a short explanation of the system), the ten canon tables (κανόνες) and the chapters/pericopes (κεφάλαια) in the margins of the Gospel texts[19], has received much scholarly attention[20]. The later Byzantine liturgical pericope numbering system, however, has been insufficiently explored[21], although not completely overlooked[22].

Land, newly translated with supporting documents and notes, rev. edition, Jerusalem-Warminster, 1981.

[18] The relevance of pericope systems in the study of Byzantine and Slavic manuscripts was set out by M. GARZANITI, *Die altslavischen Version der Evangelien*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2001, p. 30: 'Besonders komplex, aber von grundlegender Bedeutung für das Studium der Handschriftenüberlieferung der Evangelien ist die Kapiteleinteilung'. Cf. C. R. D. JORDAN 2009 and Y. BURNS 1977a, p. 321.

[19] The critical edition by E. Nestle in Novum Testamentum Graece[7] and the following editions is included in the Aland edition of Novum Testamentum Graece[27], alongside the printed text of each of the four Gospels (inner margins). The Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus includes (p. 84*-89* [cf. 38*-39*]): 1) the *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus* (ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Εὐσεβίου πρὸς Καρπιανόν), introducing the symphonia apparatus of the four Gospels (τετραευαγγέλιον); 2) the *concordant canons of Eusebius* (οἱ κανόνες ἀντιστοιχίας τοῦ Εὐσεβίου), also called the concordant tables of the chapters (πίνακες ἀντιστοιχίας τῶν κεφαλαίων); 3) the *Ammonian (Eusebian) pericope numbers in the margins* together with the corresponding canon numbers. Cf. E. NESTLE (1908) for an ennumeration of earlier editions (Erasmus[2 and 3], Stephanus (ς), Mill, Matthaei, Loyd 1828 and 1836, Scrivener, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Gregory II 1902, Wordsworth-White, Von Soden, E. Nestle[25.26]; PG 22, col. 1275-1292).

[20] See P. CANART, 'Le Livre des Évangiles dans l' empire Byzantine', in Études de Paléographie et de codicologie, Reproduites avec la collaboration de Maria Luisa Agati et Marco D'Agostino, T. II, Città del Vaticano, 2008, pp. 1-32; B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRMAN 2005[4]; C. NORDENFALK, 'The Eusebian Canon-Tables: Some textual Problems', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1984), pp. 96-104; Y. BURNS 1977a; H. K. MCARTHUR, 'The Eusebian Sections and Canons', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* 27 (1965), pp. 250-256; H. K. MCARTHUR, 'The Earliest Divisions of the Gospels', *Studia Evangelica*, vol. III, (Texte und Untersuchungen 88), Berlin (1964), pp. 266-272; C. NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtlichen Studien über die Eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte*; I, Textband, II, Tafelband, Göteborg, 1938; P. GÄCHTER, 'Zur Textabteilung von Evangelienhandschriften', *Biblica,* 15 (1934), pp. 301-320; H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, 2 vols, Göttingen, 1911[2]; C. R. GREGORY 1900-1909, see Vol II, 1902.

[21] Most probably interest in pericope systems was concentrated on the early systems of textual division in the context of textual research on the original NT text. In the context of codex-directed research a broadening of the research area is made possible and new perspectives are offered with regard to the anagnostic-liturgical divisions and numberings of later time down to earlier periods.

[22] See C. R. D. JORDAN 2009, in which the present subject is discussed from a textual point of view. Further only briefly mentioned in M. GARZANITI, *Die altslavischen Version der Evangelien,* 2001, p. 44; C. R. GREGORY 1909, pp. 1212-1213 (not yet in II 1902!, where the textual division systems are discussed); H. VON SODEN 1911[2], p. 396; F. H. A. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, 4th ed. ed. by E. Miller, 2 vols, London, 1894, I, p. 68 (Table, col. 7); J. M. A. SCHOLZ, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem testium criticorum recensuit*, I-II, Leipzig, 1830-1836 (edition of Middle Byzantine pericope numbers). But (for instance) not found in handbooks of NT textual studies, as that of B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRMAN 2005[4] (!).

In this article particular attention is given from a codicological point of view to the Byzantine liturgical pericope system, which emerged as the dominant system from the eighth century in Byzantium and remained so until the present-day Greek Orthodox printed editions of the Evangelion.

Foregoing scholars[23] have observed that, in the history of the development of pericopes in the four Gospels, the liturgical readings (ἀναγνώσματα) were already fixed in Tetraevangelion codices long (I mean for more than a century) before Tetraevangelia were transformed into Evangelion codices[24]. But the question as to *how* the process of pericope formation evolved, on the basis of the Tetraevangelion prototypes, still remains unclear, despite the hypotheses on this subject[25]. Another observation (Caspar René Gregory, Albert Ehrhard, Marcello Garzaniti) is that the creation of Evangelion codices was shaped on the basis of the Byzantine liturgical calendar and its underlying Typikon[26] that crystallised towards the end of the eighth century[27], presupposing the full liturgical order of readings from the four Gospels in two annual cycles (*Synaxarion* and *Menologion*)[28]. It was pointed out that the reading systems from early Christian and Byzantine periods, although distant in time, unexpectedly appear more related to each other (from the point of view of the liturgical function of the codex) than originally thought[29]. In this article we will demonstrate the latter supposition with the help of the two apparatuses, partly with the help of available editions and partly with available manuscript data.

This article provides concordant tables of three Tetraevangelion apparatuses (see Annexed Tables I-IV): one in which the original Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers are represented (fourth century); a second in which the Byzantine liturgical pericope system, indicated with the help of the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers is given (attested to in Tetraevangelion codices Cyprius and Campianus of the ninth century)[30]; and finally the apparatus of the Byzantine liturgical pericope system with its own numbering (exemplified by the fourteenth-century Tetraevangelion codex, Karakallou 300). The close formal connection between the early Ammonian-Eusebian and Byzantine liturgical pericope systems is visualised below in parallel columns.

[23] See esp. C. R. D. Jordan 2009, p. 13 and with a resumé of foregoing research in Ch. 6, pp. 313-336 and the conclusion on pp. 336-338; Y. Burns 1977a, p. 327; and the conjectures of C. R. Gregory Vol I, 1900, p. 334, pp. 338-339.

[24] See J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York, 2009, esp. 'Reconstructing use: The Gospel Lectionary in Byzantium', p. 15.

[25] See C. R. D. Jordan 2009; M. Garzaniti 2001; P. Canart 2008; Y. Burns 1984; Y. Burns 1982.

[26] By 'Typikon' is meant here the overall Byzantine liturgical programme and substructure distinguished from the particular Typikon codices (since the ninth century), in this stage also called 'Kanonarion' and 'Synaxarion'.

[27] A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937, pp. 32-35, which provide a most clear exposition of the evidence.

[28] Ehrhard I-III 1937-1953, is based on the Typikon of Mone Evergetinos (E), which is kept in Athens, National Library of Greece 788. In this Typikon the full Byzantine reading programme is delivered.

[29] Especially in the work of M. Garzaniti 2001 (Kap I 'Die liturgische Funktion des Evangelienbuchs') the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion are presented as two modalities of one Gospel codex.

[30] As will become clear, C. R. D. Jordan 2009 and Y. Burns 1977a provided more evidence with regard to fourteen other Tetraevangelion codices and seventy-three Evangelion codices (Jordan 29 but 9 are new and Burns 64) in which the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers were used in indicating liturgical pericopes. Moreover, attested recently is that the same numbering custom was also used in early Typikon codices, namely Patmos, Monastery of John the Theologian cod. 266 (IX/X c.) and a Kanonarion from Sinai found together in one codex with a Tetraevangelion: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catharine, Gr. 150 [Gregory-Aland 1187] (X-XIth c. by the present author. (Cf. A. A. Dimitrievsky, *Pisanie liturgicheskich rukopisej, chranjasjichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka* [Description of the liturgical manuscripts kept in the Libraries of the Orthodox East], T. I. Τυπικά, Part 1, Kiev, 1895, in which editions are provided of both Typikon codices, resp. pp. 1-152 and pp. 172-221).

Tetraevangelion : Tables I-IV [Matthew – Mark – Luke – John] (see ANNEXES)

Amm.-Eus. kephalaia (1) (concordant hermeneutic)	**Amm.-Eus. kephalaia (2) (concordant liturgical)**	**Middle Byzantine kephalaia (concordant liturgical)**
Ed. Nestle-Aland NT^{27}	Ed. Scholz I (1830)	Evangelion ed. Androuses (2003)
Ed. Von Soden I (1911^{2})	Codex Cyprius (IX)	Evangelion ed. Venice (1614)
Codex Sinaiticus (IV)	Codex Campianus (IX)	Codex Karakallou 300 (XIV)
List Gregory II (1902)	List 1 Jordan (14 T* codd)	List Royé (197 T** codd)
	List Burns (64 E* codd)	
	Jordan 2 (29 E* codd)	

Box 1: An overview of the available sources.

3. The Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbering system (third – fourth centuries)

One of the early Christian pericope systems of the fourfold Gospels (Tetraevangelion) is attributed to Eusebius[31], who related it respectfully to his predecessor Ammonius of Alexandria (circa 220 A.D.)[32].

> 'Ammonius the Alexandrine, with the expense of much industry and zeal – as was proper – left us the Diatessaron Gospel, in which he had placed the similar pericopes of the rest of the Evangelists alongside Matthew, with the inevitable result that the coherent sequence of the three was destroyed inasmuch as regards the network of the readings'[33].

The system is termed the 'Ammonian-Eusebian pericope apparatus'[34], as it was Ammonius (a contemporary of Origen[35]), who created the basic pericope divisions and the synoptic model of the four Gospels

[31] See 'Eusebii Epistula ad Carpianum et Canones I-X', in *Novum Testamentum Graece*^{27}, ed. by B. and K. Aland (and others), Stuttgart, 2006, p. 84*-89*. Cf. H. von Soden 1911, 'Einteilungen des Textes der Schriften des NT's (abgesehen von den Lektionen). A. Die Evangelien. 1. Die synoptischen Sektionen Eusebs', pp. 388-402.

[32] It is probably not Ammonius Sakkas, the platonic philosopher and teacher of Origen, whom is meant here (cf. Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vols. I-II, ed. by K. Lake, Cambridge, Mass.-London, repr. 1980, v. I: IV 19), but another Ammonius of Alexandria, mentioned in HE VI, 19, 10. Cf. B. Altaner/A. Stuiber, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter,* Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1980^{9}, p. 210.

[33] Trans. in H. H. Oliver, 'The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus, Textual Tradition and Translation', 1959, p. 144.

[34] See the edition of Konstantin Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to his *Novum Testamentum* ('editio septima') on the basis of codex M (= Campianus), IX c. (M 021) and Evv 564. See for a list of manuscripts with κεφάλαια and κανόνες, and another list with the κεφάλαια only, C. R. Gregory vol II, 1902, p. 862. A concordant index of Eusebian pericopes of the four Gospels was provided by H. von Soden 1911^{2}, pp. 396-402, i.e. the Eusebian chapter numbers parallel to the modern chapters-verses (but did not include the Eusebian canon numbers alongside the Gospel books).

[35] Origen discusses the synoptic treatment of the four Gospels in his *Commentary on John* VI 14: 'We deem it necessary to compare with the expression of the passage we are considering the similar expressions found elsewhere in the Gospels. This we shall continue to do point by point to the end of this work, so that terms which appear to disagree may be shown to be in harmony, and that the peculiar meanings present in each may be explained'; and somewhat further VI 17: 'These, then, are the parallel passages of the four: let us try to see as clearly as we can what is the purport of each and wherein they differ from each other'. (trans. by A. Menzies, *Origen's Commentary on the Gospel of John*, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. X, Edinburgh-Grand Rapids, Mich., 1986, p. 363 and p. 366). Eusebius in his HE III 24 (LCL, p. 253-255) also refers to the problem of discrepancies between the Gospels, esp. between the three and John.

(‘τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον’)[36], and Eusebius who included the concordant numbers and tables. Ammonius based his system on the principle of harmony (συμφώνια) between those passages that the four (canonical) Gospels have in common. This principle was also applied to passages which seem to contradict one another[37]. Ammonius made the concordance of Tetraevangelion pericopes visible in tables of common passages between the Gospels (‘the concordant pericopes’[38]), which he placed alongside the text of Matthew, thus inescapably breaking up the running order of the other three Gospels. Eusebius improved the Ammonian system in his very own manner (‘καθ’ ἑτέραν μέθοδον’[39]) in order to preserve and guarantee the ‘running text’ of each of the four Gospels[40] that had been disturbed by Ammonius's comparative system.

Eusebius invented a twofold numerical system. In the first place each Gospel was divided into a series of consecutively numbered pericopes (περικοπαί, called κεφάλαια) and specified by serial numbers (ἀριθμοί), which were placed in the margins alongside the continuous text of the four Gospels[41], with the following totals per Gospel[42]: Matthew 1-355 (α'-τνε'), Mark 1-233/4 (α'-σλγ/δ'), Luke 1-342 (α'-τμβ'), John 1-232 (α'-σλβ')[43], reaching a sum total of 1162 κεφάλαια[44], varying from very small textual segments to those of considerable length[45]. In the second place another series of canon numbers were added to these (placed directly beneath the kephalaia or pericope numbers), indicating ‘parallel passages’ from the other Gospels, which Eusebius then incorporated in ten canon tables (κάνονες δέκα)[46], starting from Matthew as base-Evangelion, Canons I-VII (see box 1 below: Κανὼν Α'-Ζ'). Each canon indicates a different combination of concordant pericopes (Canon I: Mt Mk Lk Jh; Canon II: Mt Mk Lk; Canon III: Mt Lk Jh, and so on), and then followed by Luke: (Κανὼν Η'-Θ'), for practical reasons of collecting comparisons between the four Gospels, since these Gospels have the most number of pericopes.

36 Not to be confused with the *Diatessaron* composed by Tatian, which was, one could say, a ‘newly arranged’ account of the four Gospels together. The title is the same and probably conceived with a similar aim. Tatian composed a combination and collection of the Gospels and gave this the name Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων (see Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, ed. by K. Lake, Cambridge, Mass.-London, repr. 1980, Book IV 29). The Tatian *Diatessaron* was in ecclesiastical use in Syrian churches until the fifth century. (Cf. Altaner/Stuiber 1980, p. 72).

37 See H. K. McArthur 1965, pp. 250-256.

38 In his *Letter to Carpianus* Eusebius used the expression ‘τὰς ὁμοφώνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπὰς’ and somewhat further he speaks of τὰ παραπλήσια, things almost or nearly alike (cf. the translation of H. H. Oliver 1959, pp. 138-145, on p. 145, ‘similar pericopes’).

39 Eusebius' *Letter to Carpianus* 5-8. Tr. H. H. Oliver 1959, p. 144: ‘... in which he had placed the similar pericopes of the rest of the Evangelists alongside Matthew, with the inevitable result that the coherent sequence of the three was destroyed inasmuch as regards the running text of the reading’, [trans. slightly impr. SR].

40 Oliver, 8-13, p. 144: ‘But in order that, while preserving completely both the content and sequence of the other three, you may know the specific passages in each Evangelist in which they were compelled by love of truth to say the same things, (and) having taken occasion from the work of the aforementioned individual (Ammonius of Alexandria) I formed for you...’.

41 For a fourth century example of who these numbers were placed in the margins, see codex Sinaiticus (H. Lake, and K. Lake (eds.), *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas,* Oxford, 1911 and website edition). Cf. also Erasmus NT[3] in which the Amm.-Eus. was adopted and the beginnings marked with an * in the lines for reason of indicating the beginnings with accurateness.

42 C. R. Gregory Vol II, 1902, p. 861.

43 The list of κεφάλαια (pericopes) in the chronological order of each of the four Gospels together with modern chapters and verses were provided in H. von Soden 1911[2], pp. 396-402. These lists did not belong to the Eusebius apparatus and were set up for the convenience of the modern reader.

44 See Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, c. 50: ‘τέσσαρα εἰσὶν εὐαγγέλια, κεφαλαίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα δύο’, quoted in Gregory II 1902, p. 861 n. 2.

45 It was construed as a pragmatic help for readers of the four Gospels in order to find quickly an intended or prescribed passage of Scripture. One should keep in mind that the present-day chapter and verse division was non-existent in the Byzantine manuscripts. In many manuscripts the Ammonian-Eusebian chapters were provided *without* the corresponding canon numbers or canon tables (cf. list of codices in C. R. Gregory vol. II, 1902, p. 862).

46 See H. H. Oliver 1959, pp. 29-31: ‘And for each number a rubricated note is given, indicating in which of the ten canons the present number occurs’.

> 'I formed for you according to a different method the total of ten canons which have been subjoined. Of which the first contain numbers in which the four have said things very similar, namely Matthew, Mark, Luke, John (I); the second in which the three, Matthew, Mark, Luke (II); the third in which the three, Matthew, Luke, John (III); the fourth in which the three, Matthew, Mark, John (IV); the fifth in which the two, Matthew, Luke (V); the sixth in which the two (VI), Matthew, Mark; the seventh in which the two, Matthew, John (VII); the eight in which the two, Luke, Mark (VIII); the ninth in which the two, Luke, John (IX); the tenth in which each of them recorded things independently (X)'[47].

The concordant canon tables I-IX contain different 'combinations' of the corresponding passages, namely of four, three, two Gospels (κανὼν Α'-Θ'), but also include the individual subject matter of each of the four Gospels (κανὼν Ι').

Κανὼν Α'. Μτ Μκ Λκ Ιω	Κανὼν Ε'. Μτ Λκ	Κανὼν Θ'. Λκ Ιω
Κανὼν Β'. Μτ Μκ Λκ	Κανὼν Ϛ'. Μτ Μκ	Κανὼν Ι'. Κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἰδίως
Κανὼν Γ'. Μτ Λκ Ιω	Κανὼν Ζ'. Μτ Ιω	Κατὰ Μάρκον ἰδίως
Κανὼν Δ'. Μτ Μκ Ιω	Κανὼν Η'. Λκ Μκ	Κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἰδίως
		Κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἰδίως

Box 2: The Eusebian canons: tables of interconnected, concordant Tetraevangelion periscopes.

This early Byzantine symphonic (concordant) composition of similar and idiomatic passages of the Tetraevangelion codex system contributed not a little to the canonisation of the four Gospels in the Church and its transmission in many manuscripts[48], commencing with *codex Sinaiticus*[49]. The Ammonian-Eusebian synoptic system of the canons was visualised in an overview by Nordenfalk in the following manner (see Box 3 below).

Evangelia	*Canon*	*Mt*	*Mk*	*Lk*	*Jh*	*Passages in common*
Four	I	+	+	+	+	71 (total in this canon))
Three	II	+	+	+		111
	III	+		+	+	22
	IV	+	+		+	26
Two	V	+		+		82
	VI	+	+			47
	VII	+			+	7
	VIII		+	+		14
	IX			+	+	21

[47] See H. H. Oliver 1959, pp. 144-145.
[48] See list in C. R. Gregory vol II, 1902, p. 862 and E. Nestle 1908, pp. 103-106.
[49] Important will be research of the Tetraevangelion codex preserved in the *Codex Sinaiticus* (fourth century), since the Eusebian *kephalaia* were adopted in this eminent manuscript (by an ancient second hand). See the *Codex Sinaiticus Project* with a useful digital facsimile edition and parallel to this diplomatic reproduction (chapter by chapter and verse by verse) of the complete manuscript with explanations of the editors. See, for example, how the applied method of 'marginal numbering' was executed in codex Sinaiticus (Matthew 1. 1- 2, 5) *in transcription* on f. 200r with the combined numbers in red, the upper letter with a small stroke above (number of the pericope) and the lower letter (number of the canon).

						Passages not in common
One	X	+				62
			+			21
				+		71
					+	97

Box 3: C. Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln*, 1938, p. 47.

It seems that the Eusebian pericope apparatus was primarily intended to establish the hermeneutic concordant and canonical *cohesion* of the four Gospels into one codex (in Eusebian phraseology 'the Holy Tetrad of the Gospels'[50]) for use in church and for private study. When reviewing this system the following question arises, 'why were the theoretically possible combinations Mk-Lk-Jh and Mk-Jh not present'[51]. The answer is suggested that Matthew was first taken as the base-Gospel for the canons I-VII (see Box 1 above) and then Luke for the canons VIII-IX. The two other above-mentioned theoretical combinations were not remarked upon by Eusebius, since there are no pericopes which have Mk-Lk-Jh or Mk-Jh alone in common[52]. In Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* the pericope divisions and numberings are referred to as 'reading' (ἀνάγνωσις), evidently useful for contextual and synoptic reference. It was suggested that Eusebius meant 'private' reading of the Gospels here ('If then, having opened any one of the four Gospels, you may wish to study a certain desired chapter, and to know which (of the other three) have said things very similar'[53]), but we conjecture that this pericope system was also very helpful for selecting lessons for ecclesiastical reading in anagnostic-liturgical contexts[54].

Indeed, the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus lies at the basis of the later anagnostic-liturgical system of the four Gospels, which appears to have formed the groundwork in a very practical (numerical) way. This can be proven by looking at two ninth-century codices: *codex Cyprius* (K 017) and *codex Campianus* (M 021). In these codices, the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope system was used, as a referential system for concordant pericopes (see the included Canon Tables preceding the Evangelion texts) as well as for the numerical arrangement of the Byzantine liturgical pericope system (see the prefixed Synaxarion and Menologion Tables, under κεφ in the second column of the tables). Apparently, it was practical also to use the established textual division numbers (Amm.-Eus.) for the liturgical pericopes. This could be (one may conjecture) highly practical for the liturgical calendric (and concordant also) composition of the Byzantine Synaxarion in selecting the interconnected Gospel pericopes prior to the ninth century.

[50] EH IV 25: 'τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν'. It is clear that Eusebius contributed greatly to the consolidation and canonisation of the four Gospel codex, regarding both the internal structure of each individual Gospel and the interconnected structure of the four Gospels together by means of: 1) a far-reaching internal network of references, the four Evangelia *symphonia*; 2) by gathering witnesses (*martyria*) concerning the origin and fourfold composition of the Tetraevangelion codex (Justin, Ireneus, Clement of Alexandria. Origen and other fathers before him); 3) by many *references* to the Evangelion codex in its fourfold form; see 'the *Holy Tetrad of the Gospels*' (EH III 25), and *Ta tessara evangelia* (EH VI 25), and 'to transmit the writing of the divine gospels' (EH III 37); 4) by the story of the accomplishment of the fourfold Evangelion in Ephese by John the Apostle (EH III 24.7).

[51] H. K. McArthur 1965, p. 251.

[52] See C. Nordenfalk 1938, p. 48 and H. K. McArthur 1965, p. 251.

[53] See H. H. Oliver 1959, p. 33-38. Cf. C. Nordenfalk 1938.

[54] In many manuscripts (see C. R. Gregory Vol II, 1902, p. 862 and H. von Soden 1911², p. 392, one only finds the pericope numbers without the concordant kanones! Apparently the marginal pericope numbers were used for textual reference and reading in church. See C. Nordenfalk 1938, pp. 49-50 and Y. Burns 1977a, p. 325.

4. Ammonian-Eusebian Tetraevangelion pericope numbers used in codex Cyprius and codex Campianus (both ninth century) to indicate liturgical pericopes

Research done in the context of the preparation of a Pinakes edition of Byzantine Tetraevangelion and Evangelion liturgical pericopes (those they have in common)[55] directed our attention to the well-known ninth-century codices Cyprius and Campianus. In these manuscripts the standardised Byzantine liturgical apparatus is delivered in the form of 'synaxarion' and 'menologion' pinakes[56], collected and edited by Johannes M. A. Scholz in his *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I, 1830: 'Synaxarium et Menologium codicum KM 262. 274', pp. 453-473. Provided are in this edition the titles: 'Eglogadion'[57] and pp. 474-493, and 'Synaxarion'[58]. A short description of codices K and M in the context of the consulted and collated codices used for his edition are given in Scholz's Prolegomena, p. XLI-XLII (see further Box 4 below)[59].

Codex Cyprius: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds Gr. 63 [*olim* KM 262][60]
IX middle [Maj] parch 267 ff. 26 x 19 (oblong 4°) 1 col. 21 ll. [Isag. Lect.][61]
[NT signatures: Aland: K 017, Gregory: K, Von Soden ε 71 (K), Scrivener K).
The codex was brought from Cyprus to the Colbertinus Library in Paris in 1673.

Short description
f. 1r – 4v : synaxarion tables.
f. 5r – 9v : menologion tables.
f. 10r – 13r : columns of Eusebius' kanon numbers I-X (Eus.).
f. 14r – 81r : [headpiece] euaggelion kata Matthaion [f. 81r: ἐξεδ.] [Amm./Eus. keph. in margins]
f. 81v – 81bis : ta kephalaia Markon
f. 82r – 131v : [headpiece] euaggelion kata Markon [f. 131v: ἐξεδ.] [Amm./Eus. keph. in margins]

[55] Working title: *Pinakes of the middle Byzantine liturgical pericope system in Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices and Greek printed editions.*

[56] The anagnostic-liturgical apparatus has been incorporated in the majority of the Tetraevangelion codices. See for evidence, S. M. Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition. Towards a codico-liturgical approach to the Byzantine Manuscripts*, Tilburg, 2007, p. 171 (of the 1.312 selected Tetraevangelion codices 843 codices have a liturgical apparatus and 116 have insufficient data to bring evidence, but may have the apparatus too).

[57] Title in Scholz I 1830, p. 455 [not in cod. K or M, see below]: Ἐκλογάδιον τῶν δ' εὐαγγελιστῶν διά τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους τὴν περικοπὴν ἑκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων παρασημείωσιν ἀκριβῶς διαγορεῦον. περιέχει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα, ὃ καὶ τελειοῦν ἐν τῷ μηνολογίῳ.

[58] Title in Scholz I 1830, p. 474: Συναξάριον ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου μέχρι μηνὸς Ἀὐγούστου ὅλου. Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίκτου.

[59] Besides codices K and M Scholz consulted two other Tetraevangelia: cod. 261, XII c., Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 52 (= Gregory-Aland 261) and cod. 274, X c., Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Gr. 79, which were maybe used for the edition of the eglogadion and synaxarion tables (see the preliminary remark in vol. I, on pp. 453-454). Cf. C. R. Gregory I, p. 173, 174 for a short description of the contents of apparatuses incorporated in Evv 261 and 274.

[60] The study of the apparatus in these codices has been conducted from microfilms.

[61] In Tetraevangelion codices there are (generally speaking) four apparatuses provided: 1) Isagogic (= Isag); 2) Liturgical/calendric (= Lit); 3) Ekphonetic/musical (Ekph.); 4) Hermeneutic/exegetical (= Herm). The abbreviations are of the included apparatuses: 1) Isagogic (Isag.) = all preliminary / auxiliary matters as prologues, Eusebian letter to Carpianus and canon tables, kephalaia, titloi, etc.; 2) Liturgical = all anagnostic-liturgical elements provided in prefixed or attached tables (and/or in the margins of the main text), in which are indicated: the day, week, service, gospel and number, arche and telos, of the pericopes; 3) Ekphonetic = the notation of musical/syntactical performance/recitation; 4) Hermeneutical = the hermeneiai, scholia which are added to the text. (Full overview will be provided in the new catalogue).

f. 132r – 132bis : ton kata Loukan euaggelion ta kephalaia
f. 133r – 204v : [headpiece] euaggelion kata Loukan [f. 204v: ἐξεδ.] [Amm./Eus. keph. in margins]
f. 205r : blanco
f. 205v : ton kata Ioannen euaggelion ta kephalaia
f. 206r – 267r : [headpiece] euaggelion kata Ioannen [f. 267r: ἐξεδ.] [Amm./Eus. keph. in margins]

Codex Campianus: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds Gr. 48 [*olim* KM 274]
IX (end) [Maj] parch 257 ff. 22 x 16,3 (small 4°) 2 cols. 24 ll. [Isag. Lect. Ecph.]
[NT signatures: Aland: M 021, Gregory M; Von Soden ε 72 (M); Scrivener M].
The codex was offered by Abbé Fr. De Camps to Louis XIV on Jan. 1 1707.

f. 1r – 2v : synaxarion tables (Pascha-Pentecoste)
f. 3r – 4v : Matthew weeks (sabbato-kyriakai)
f. 4v – 6v : Luke weeks (sabbato-kyriakai)
f. 6v – 7r : Great Week
f. 7r – 8r : euaggelia anastasima
f. 8r – 8v : anagnosmata eis diaphorous hemeras heorton
f. 9r – 10v : epistle to Carpianus
f. 11r – 17r : Canones of Eusebius
f. 17r – 18r : Old Kephalaia [Chapter headings] of Matthew
f. 18v – 20v : Hyppolitus' Chronology
f. 21r – 89r : euaggelion kata ton Matthaion [Amm.-Eus. kephalaia / canon numbers in margins]
f. 89v : Miniature icon of Mark (full page)
f. 90r – 90v : Old Kephalaia [Chapter headings] of Mark
f. 91r – 132v : euaggelion kata ton Markon [Amm.-Eus. kephalaia / canon numbers in margins]
f. 133r – 134r : Old Kephalaia [Chapter headings] of Luke
f. 134r : Miniature icon of Luke (full page)
f. 135r – 204v : euaggelion kata ton Loukan [Amm.-Eus. kephalaia / canon numbers in margins]
f. 205r : Old Kephalaia [Chapter headings] of John
f. 205v : Miniature icon of John (full page)
f. 206r – 257v : euaggelion kata ton Ioannem [Amm.-Eus. kephalaia / canon numbers in margins]

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Box 4: Descriptive data concerning codex Cyprius and codex Campianus.

A noteworthy fact is that in these Tetraevangelion codices the Byzantine liturgical pericopes are represented by the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers (!)[62] (for the data, see column 5 in *Annexed Tables*). The liturgical pericope system of these Tetraevangelion codices (of the 1,323 complete codices of this type, 843 codices have liturgical apparatus, and of another 116 codices it is unknown whether liturgical elements were adopted) is analogous to that of the peer Evangelion codices (1,144 codices from the eighth century onwards)[63]. Attested is that the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbering system was also adopted in a considerable group of Evangelion codices to indicate liturgical readings. Yvonne Burns speaks of 64 Gospel lectionaries between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, in which the Ammonian-Eusebian chapters were included to indicate the liturgical pericopes (see p. 327 and the list on pp. 330-331 of her article in 1977a)[64]. This observation was confirmed by Chris Jordan in 2009 (29 Evangelion codices in the period from the eighth to the eleventh centuries)[65]. Jordan added to this find, a series of 14 Tetraevangelion codices (tenth – fourteenth centuries) with Ammonian-Eusebian kephalaia numbers used to indicate the Byzantine liturgical pericope numbers[66].

The Ammonian-Eusebian pericopes appear to have been used in the synaxarion and menologion tables incorporated in codex K and codex M in order to indicate the standardised Byzantine liturgical pericope system: 1) in the synaxarion, heothina and menologion tables at the beginning of these codices; 2) in the margins of the Gospel texts; 3) in liturgical notes in the upper margins. The old numeric system for correspondences between pericopes of different Gospels was employed for the new system of liturgical pericopes. This is natural, since it was the most widespread text-division instrument at that time[67].

[62] This was already noted by Y. BURNS 1977a, p. 327: 'In addition to these rubrics, or even instead of them, lists were written at the beginning or at the end of the codex giving the day, the Gospel and the Ammonian section at which the lection was to commence, together with the incipit and the concluding phrase', and see also p. 332.

[63] See S. M. ROYÉ 2007, p. 169.

[64] Y. BURNS 1977a, p. 327 and the list on pp. 330-331. This was confirmed by C. R. D. JORDAN 2009, Ch. 6: 'Greek Gospel Lectionary Archetypes: Ammonian Section Numbers', pp. 315-320, and added a series of 29 codices with these Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers (discussing 11 Evangelion codices of this type) of which only 9 codices were new in comparison with Burns.

[65] See C. R. D. JORDAN 2009, pp. 315-325.

[66] See the overview table in C. R. D. JORDAN 2009, pp. 325-326.

[67] See O. SCHMID, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen Der Heiligen Schrift, insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte*, Graz, 1892, p. 17 [repr. La Vergne, TN USA, 2008]. The current chapters were introduced much later by Stephen Langton in the thirteenth century – and the verses by the learned printer Stephanus in the Editio Regia of 1551.

The structure of the synaxarion and menologion tables in K

[1]	[2]	[3]		[4]	[5]	[6]
–	ΚΕΦ	Α		ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ	Τ (ελος)	ΔΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΕΓΕΝ
		CIϚ′				
Β	ΚΕΦ	Η′				
Γ	ΚΕΦ	ΤΛΘ				
Δ	ΚΕΦ	ΙϚ′				
Ε	ΚΕΦ	ΚΔ′				
Ϛ	ΚΕΦ	ΙΘ′				
$C_{Α}$	ΚΕΦ	ΚΕ′				
			ΚΥ	ΤΟ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΣΧΑ	ΚΕΦ	CΙΓ′

Box 5. Scheme of synaxarion table in codex Cyprius.

The tables in K are very sober. Only the liturgical day and week is indicated (in small capitals and in abbreviated form) = 1; the liturgical kephalaion = 2; the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers = 3; the first words of the pericope (arche) = 4; T (elos) = 5; the end words = 6.

The rubrical elements of the included synaxarion and menologion tables in these manuscripts were represented by Johannes Scholz in his edition of the New Testament (1830-1836) under the headings 'eclogadion' and 'synaxarion', as follows: 1. *the rubrical notices of daily services according to the Byzantine Synaxarion*; 2. *the name of the Gospel from which the passage was taken*; 3. *the pericope number*; 4. the *archoteleiai* (ἀρχοτέλειαι) *indicating the beginning and end of the pericopes* (see Box. 6 below).

Τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλη Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα· εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον α′· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· τέλος· διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο. [John. 1. 1-17]
Τῇ β′ τῆς διακαινησίμου· ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον η′· θεὸν οὐδεις ἑώρακα· τέλος· ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων. [John. 1. 18-28]

Box 6: Eglogadion [synaxarion] of codex Cyprius and codex Campianus (in Scholz edition!).

It was Scholz's intention to present in the first place the synaxarion and menologion tables provided in codex Cyprius and codex Campianus of the ninth century (see the praefatio 'Synaxarium et Menologium codicum KM 262. 274.' on pp. 453-454). But it also becomes clear that Scholz used other manuscript sources. This observation follows from the inclusion of various elements, which are not to be found in K and M. For instance, the titles 'Eglogadion' and 'Synaxarion', the extensive rubrics and also the inclusion of the pericopes of the Matthew and Luke weeks (i.e. the *kathemerinai* lessons for all five weekdays), which are not found in the synaxarion tables of K and M. Scholz indicates that he consulted, beside the two ninth-century codices, other Tetraevangelion manuscripts. Mentioned are, for instance, 52 (= cod. 261, Reg. 52 [Gregory/Aland 261]), and 79a (= cod. 274, Reg. 79a [Gregory/Aland 274]), all from the Bibl. Nat. in Paris. We believe that

he most probably used these for his tables[68]. With the full registration of the Byzantine liturgical pericopes (as Scholz provided)[69] one has to reckon with the ninth-century status quo and beyond (general speaking on the basis of the available T and E codices since the eighth and ninth century). But also with a liturgical reading practice which started already many ages before the ninth century. Scholz added the later chapter and verse numbers between brackets, but many mistakes were made in this process. We have attempted to correct these in the annexed concordant tables. Furthermore, the hebdomadal structure was not correctly represented from the manuscripts (in the Paschal period the Kyriake of Antipascha is the first day of the week). In the upper margins of the provided text of the four Gospels in K and M there are indications of liturgical days and services referring to the prefixed synaxarion and menologion tables. The Ammonian-Eusebian pericope numbers are placed in the left outer margins, but the totals per Gospel differ in comparison with the Aland NTG[27] [In K: Mt: 356 (Aland 355), Mk: 241 (Aland 233), Lk: 342 (Aland idem), Jh: 232 (Aland idem)].

Finally, the Byzantine liturgical pericope system lies at the base of all Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices from the eighth century onwards (that is, of all e and *l* types)[70] and was retained in the synaxaria and menologia tables (pinakes) placed at the end and/or beginning of these manuscripts. It was explicitly constructed for anagnostic-liturgical practice, i.e. it was intended for reading during the cycles of the Byzantine liturgical year. From this time onwards (eighth century) two modalities of the four Gospels, Tetraevangelion and Evangelion, thus existed side by side, the four gospels arranged in chronological (T codd.) and liturgical (E codd.) order.

5. The Byzantine liturgical pericope numbering system (tenth century and beyond)

A new liturgical pericope numberings system (kephalaia) appeared in Tetraevangelion manuscripts from at least the tenth-eleventh centuries, indicating the Byzantine liturgical anagnosmata (pericopes) with corresponding ('own') numbers, instead of the practice of using Ammonian-Eusebian numbers. This new numbering system is attested in many Tetraevangelion codices (approximately 200) and was also adopted in Greek printed editions[71], remaining there until the present-day editions (ed. by Androuses 2003).

[68] Not to be excluded is the possibility that the NT edition of Matthaei was used by Scholz, in which synaxarion and menologion tables are provided.

[69] This state of affairs was recognised at a late stage in the writing of this article in checking the Scholz data with microfilms (we worked on the basis of the Scholz edition). For reason of accurateness, it should be noted that Scholz' edition of the synaxarion part seems 'over-complete', since besides the sabbato-kyriakai lessons (which are provided indeed in the prefixed synaxarion tables of K and M) included are also 'kathemerinai lessons' in the Matthew and Luke weeks, where Scholz (vol. I, note a) on p. 458 says ' Lectionum indices, feria secunda, tertia, quarta, quinta et sexta omittit M', but the same is true with regard to his base codex K. These weekday lessons are not in the prefixed tables of codd. K and M and not in this form. Probably liturgical notes in the upper margins were used, but these are very short abbreviated notes and, is our impression, do not provide a complete scheme of all lessons in the Matthew and Luke weeks. Nevertheless, lessons are provided in Scholz edition (on pp. 458-464: Matthew weeks and pp. 464-471: Luke weeks) for the synaxarion (which are 'middle type' or esk in K and M), which are correctly represented. With regard to the exact source of the 'full type' representation in Scholz are we in doubt. Provided are in Scholz (from somewhere?), the Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers also for the kathemerinai lessons, which we adopted for our ' number presentation' in the annexed tables, since they reflect the adoption principle in an accurate way. An exact study of the synaxarion and menologion apparatus in codd. K and M is a first *desideratum*.

[70] Codex Washingtonianus, Codex Nanianus and a (not to be neglected) group of partial codices only date from before this time.

[71] For instance in the Evangelion edition of Venice 1614 and afterwards. In earlier editions (editio princeps of Venice 1539 and Venice 1599) the same pericope system was adopted, but not yet the numbering system, as far I can see.

When analysing the rubrics of one recent Evangelion edition (*Theion kai Hieron Evangelion*, ed. by A. Androuses[72]) with regard to the manuscript evidence behind this edition, we encountered a remarkable observation in Caspar R. Gregory (C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Vol III, 1909)[73]:

> 'Viele Handschriften der Evangelien numeriren nämlich die Lesestücke (z. B. Evv 510, 586) und zählen in Matthäus 116, Markus 71, Lukas 114, und Johannes 67. Diese numerirten evangelischen Lesestücke sind, wenn ich nicht irre, denen in den Lesebüchern gleich'.

This observation refers to 'many manuscripts with numbered readings', clearly identical to the anagnostic-liturgical numbering system of the middle Byzantine Tetraevangelion codices, which was adopted in later Byzantine manuscripts and Greek Evangelion editions, for example in the *Hieron Evangelion* of Venice 1614, and in the above-mentioned edition – the *Theion kai Hieron Evangelion* of Athens, 2003. In the rubrics of these Evangelion editions, the liturgical pericope numbers are placed in the right hand corner of the rubrics[74] (see Box 7 below).

Τῇ Ἁγίᾳ καὶ Μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ
τοῦ Πάσχα
Εἰς τὴν Λειτουργίαν [*in red colour*]
Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην. α' [*in black*]

Box 7: Rubrics in Theion kai Hieron Evangelion, ed. by A. Androuses, Athens, 2003.

In the rubrical heading is mentioned: 1) the name of the feast (Holy and Great Pascha); 2) the service (liturgy); 3) the name of the Gospel book from which the pericope is taken (Gospel according to John); 4) the pericope number (here 1), referring to the preceding concordant table, the εὕρεσις (inventory) according to the chronological order of this Gospel[75]. At some point, when the Byzantine programme was more or less fixed in the course of the ninth century, calligraphers started to adopt these pericope numbers from the Tetraevangelion codices, placing them in additional pinakes of pericopes (synaxarion and menologion) at the beginning or at the end of the codex.

The Tetraevangelion pericopes were, also in this younger system, divided according to the chronological order of the four canonical Gospels: Ματθαῖος-Μάρκος-Λουκᾶς-Ἰωάννης, and numbered according to the Byzantine standardised pericope numberings of each Gospel: Matthew: 116 (α'-ρις'); Mark: 71 (α'-οα'); Luke: 114 (α'-ριδ'); John: 67 (α'-ξζ'), a pragmatic reduction of the pericopes in comparison with the Eusebian system. The Matthew numbering was reduced to a more balanced division from 355 to 116, Mark from 233 to 71, 342 to 114 and John from 232 to 67, a reduction of approximately 75% in each Gospel.

[72] *Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, κατὰ τὸ κείμενον τὸ ἐγκεκριμένον ὑπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας*, 3rd edition, ed. by A. Androuses, Athens, 2003.

[73] C. R. Gregory vol III, 1909, p. 1212. This pericope system was not discussed in Gregory, vol II, 1902, in the chapter concerning text divisions ('Die Kapitel'), pp. 858-880.

[74] For the analysis of the Evangelion rubrics, see M. Garzaniti 2001, p. 40-41.

[75] The rubrics contain the following directive parameters of the Typikon of the Church (see the Patmos Typikon for instance), see A. A. Dimitrievsky I 1895, in which (corresponding to the rubrics in the Evangelion) are indicated: 1) the appointed liturgical day in the Byzantine calendar; 2) the liturgical service; 3) the Evangelion book from which the passage is taken (i.e. Tetraevangelion); 4) the reading (with the arche and telos of the prescribed pericope); 5) the pericope number of the anagnosis (κεφάλαιον) referring back to the chronological order of the Tetraevangelion.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Eusebian pericopes	355	233	342	232
Byzantine Pericopes	**116**	**71**	**114**	**67** (reduction of *circa* 75 %)

Box 8. Overview reduction of pericope numbers.

It is clear that the Eusebian pericope system was practical for the selection and arrangement process in the composition of the Byzantine liturgical calendar, since the (already existing) pericope confines and numbers could be used in a 'reduced' manner, attuned to the scope of the liturgical pericope for a particular day and service. For example, the reading for the Paschal liturgy (John 1, 1-17) in the middle-Byzantine apparatus is simply *α'*, but the same pericope contains *α'-ζ'* in the much more subdivided Eusebian system, and so on.

The Byzantine pericopes numbering system in Karakallou 300 (14th c.)

Gregory 1039 Evv/Aland 1039 e.
Hagion Oros, Mone Karakallou 300 [Lambros 111] XIV c. pap. 30,7 x 22,5 282 ff. 2 cols. 21 lin.
[Liturgical apparatus on fol. 276-283, with the *ἀναγν*: Mt 116 Mk 71 Lk 114 Jh 67 : 'e-type' ('kathemerinai' or readings for all days)].

Short description
f. 1r : Titlos [codex] : To kata Matthaion hagion euaggelion [red]
f. 1r – 75v : Text of Matthaios [ρις'] [middle Byzantine pericope numbers in left margins: 116]
f. 76r : Titlos [codex] : To kata Markon hagion euaggelion [red]
f. 76r – 124v : Text of Markos [οα'] [middle Byzantine pericope numbers in left margins: 71]
f. 125r : Titlos [codex] : To kata Loukan hagion euaggelion [red]
f. 125r – 212v : Text of Loukas [ριδ'] [middle Byzantine pericope numbers in left margins: 114]
f. 213r : Titlos [codex] : To kata Ioannen hagion euaggelion.
f. 213r – 275v : Text of John [ξζ']. [middle Byzantine pericope numbers in left margins: 67]
f. 276v – 282v : Liturgical tables of pericopes [synaxarion; and a fragment of the menologion only]

Box 9: Short description based on *autopsy* in the monastery (SR: 21-10-2009).

The structure of the tables (codex title: *Delosis* or *Indicator*)[76] of liturgical pericopes is similar to that of the codices of the ninth century [see Plate 1 and Plate 2]. In contrast to codices K and M (at the beginning of the codex for practical reasons) are the pinakes of cod. Karakallou 300 placed at the end (also practical). The tables have five small columns indicating in very short abbreviated style: the number of the

[76] Karakallou 300, title: 'Δήλωσις ἀκριβὴς τῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης Κυριακῆς τοῦ Πάσχα.'

Byzantine day (Greek letter), the number of the week, the gospel name, kephalaion, the number of the pericope (middle Byzantine numbering system). In the margins of the four Gospels are put:

1. The kephalaion number indicating the liturgical pericope;
2. The arche en telos signs indicating the beginning and end of the pericope;
3. The beginning is also marked by capital letters;
4. The liturgical notes in the upper, left/right and lower margins indicating the day, week, pericope number and incipit, referring to the text on the same page.

This middle Byzantine pericope numbering of the Tetraevangelion apparatus appears to have been included in Gregory's description scheme of Tetraevangelion manuscripts (with the siglum Evv), in codices from the tenth century onwards (see *Select List of Tetraevangelion codices with middle Byzantine pericope numbers* below).

From the Tetraevangelion codices including the middle Byzantine liturgical pericope numbers (approximately 200 codices) a small group (tenth – fourteenth centuries) was selected for illustration adopted from Gregory I and III (*ἀναγν.*).

Select List of Tetraevangelion codices with middle Byzantine pericope numbers

The select chronological list of Tetraevangelion codices with middle Byzantine pericope numbers was derived from the codex descriptions provided in Gregory I 1900 and III 1909 (supplement). Data were also adopted from Scrivener-Miller 1894[4]. The present list is not exhaustive. It is just a first inventory in order to give an idea of the fast amount of codices equipped with such numerical data and to stimulate further research in this direction.

Essential elements of the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the middle Byzantine liturgical pericope-numbering system in the description scheme developed by Gregory and the used abridgements (Vol. III, pp. 1378-1381):

Abs : Abschnitt: Sektion zur Harmonie der Evv [Mt 355 Mk 233: 16, 20 Lk 342 Jo 232], vgl. S. 861-872.
ἀναγν : Lesestücke, *ἀναγνώσεις*, *ἀναγνώσματα*, numerirt [Mt 116 Mk 71 Lk 114 Jo 67]
Kan : Kanones, besonders Eusebs, vgl S. 861-872.
Kap-L : Liste der Kapitel.
Kap : Kapitel.
Karp : Brief Eusebs an Karpianos, vgl S. 861-872.
Lit : Liturgisches, besonders eine Handschrift des fortlaufenden Textes, in der die Lesestücke mit ihrem Tagen und vielleicht mit den „Anfängen' bezeichnet sind.
Men : Menologium: hier für gewöhnlich nicht das besonders so bezeichnete liturgisches Buch, sondern der zweite Teil vom Evl oder Apl.
Syn : Synaxarion, hier für gewöhnlich nicht das grosse liturgische Buch sondern der erste Teil des Evl oder Apl.

Paradigm Description Scheme Gregory
Oxford, Bodleian Barocci 31, XII, 342 [Gregory 46 Evv, Scrivener 11], Karp, Kap-L, Vorw zu Jo, Kap-L, Kap, Auf, Abs (Mt 355 Mk 241 [*dev. !*]: 16, 20 Lk 342 Jo 232), Kan, Lit, Auf, *ἀναγν* (**Mt 116 Mk 71 Lk 114 Jo 67**), Syn, Men, Unters, *στίχ*, Verse, Bild; Ostertafel.

Indexed are 16 codices which described in Gregory I and III, from the tenth century on with the data provided by Gregory (added is Aland for the update).

10th century

[Gregory 100 Evv mit Kette, Aland 100 eK]

- Budapest, Univ. Bibl. Cod. Gr. 1 = Pest, Univ. Bibl. V. Gr. 1, X c., 374 ff., Komm an drei Rändern; Kan-L, Kap-L, gew Vorw, Kap, Aufs, Abs, kan, Lit, Auf, (***ἀναγν***, Syn, Men sp Hd), Bild, Verse.

[Gregory 1166 Evv/Aland 1166 e]

- Patmos, M. Ioannou 82, X c., 309 ff., Gregory III Suppl., p. 1131: Lit, *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men sp Hd.

11th century

[Gregory 83 Evv/Aland 83 e]

- München, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Gr. 518, XI c., 321 ff., Vorw, Kap-L, Kap, Lit, *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men, Unters, *στίχ*, Verse.

[Gregory 547 Evv/Aland 547 e]

- London, Brit. Libr. Add. 39590, XI c., 348 ff., Arg, Kap-L, Lit, Auf, *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men, Unters, *στίχ*, Verse, Euth.

12th century

[Gregory 116 Evv/Aland 116 e]

- London, British Library, Harley 5567, XII c., 300 ff., Kan-L, Kap-L, Kap, Aufs, Abs (Mk 241: 16, 20), Lit, Anf, *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men (altes und neues).

[Gregory 46 Evv, Scrivener 11]

- Oxford, Bodleian Barocci 31, XII c., 342 ff., Karp, Kap-L, Vorw zu Jo, Kap-L, Kap, Auf, Abs (Mt 355 Mk 241: 16, 20 Lk 342 Jo 232), Kan, Lit, Auf, *ἀναγν* (**Mt 116 Mk 71 Lk 114 Jo 67**), Syn, Men, Unters, *στίχ*, Verse, Bild; Ostertafel.

[Gregory 510 Evv/Aland 510 e]

- Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 25, XII c., 305 ff., Lit, Anf, *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men, Unters, *στίχ*]. [Table Scrivener/Mill 1894[4], col. 7]

[Gregory 225 Evv/Aland 116 e]

- Vienna, Kaiserliche Bibl. Suppl. Gr. (olim Kolar 9), 1192 A.D., 171 ff., Lit. Auf. *ἀναγν*, Syn, Men.

[Gregory 1 Evv Apg Kath Paul (Phm He)/Aland 1 eap]

- Basel, Univ. Bibl. A.N. IV.2, XII c. (X c. Greg.), 297 ff., Lit. *ἀναγνώσεις*: Mt 116 Mk 70! Lk 114 Jh: 67 (von zweiter Hand).

13th century

[Gregory 500 Evv/Aland 500 e]

- London, British Library, Add. 17982, XIII c., 244 ff., Lit, *ἀναγν* (Syn, Men sp Hd auf Papier).

[Gregory 118 Evv]

- Oxford, Bodleian Misc. 13., XIII c., 256 ff., Lit, Auf, *ἀναγν*, (Syn und Men sp Hd).

14th century

[Gregory 1039 Evv/Aland 1039 e]

- Hagion Oros, Mone Karakallou 300 [Lambros 111], XIV c., 282 ff., with pericope numbers: ἀναγν [Mt 116 Mk 71 Lk 114 Jh 67 and liturgical apparatus on ff. 276-283, (autopsy SR: 21-10-2009)].

[Gregory 586 Evv/Aland 586 e]

- Modena, Bibl. Est., G.5, α. M.9.14 (II.A.5.), XIV c., 239 ff.,
  Arg, Kap-L, Kap, Lit, Anf, ἀναγν, Syn, Men, Unters doppelt, στίχ, Verse. [Table Scrivener/Mill 1894[4], col. 7]

[Gregory 521 Evv/Aland 521 e]

- Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS. Gr. Bibl. d.1 [Mendham], XIV c., 271 ff.,
  Kap-L, Kap, Lit, Anf, ἀναγν, Syn, Men, Unters., στίχ, Verse. [Table Scrivener/Mill 1894[4], col. 7, n. 1]

[Scrivener 11; Gregory Evv 46/Aland 46 e]

- Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 29, ca A.D. 1300 (XII c. Greg.), 342 ff.,
  Karp, Kan-L, Vorw. Zu Jo, Kap-L, Kap, Aufs, Abs (Mt 355 Mk 241: 16, 20 Lk 342 Jo 232), Kan, Lit, Auf, ἀναγν: Mt: 116; Mk: 71; Lk: 114; Jh: 67], Syn, Men, Unters., στίχ, Verse, Bild; Ostertafel.

[Gregory 55 Evv/Aland 55 e]

- Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Selden supra 6, XIV c. (Gregory XIII c.), 349 ff.,
  ἀναγν.

The Byzantine liturgical pericope system was indicated in earlier research as ἀναγνώσεις (abbr. ἀναγν.) in Gregory (vols. I and III)[77] and in Scrivener-Miller I, (abbr. Ἀναγν.). Besides, Gregory did not discuss this later middle-Byzantine pericope system and neither did Scrivener (appears in a table overview only). Von Soden just mentioned it in passing (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, p. 396). Other NT manuscript scholars passed over it (Yvonne Burns, Chris Jordan). We must conclude that the *middle Byzantine liturgical pericope numbering system* escaped the attention of scholarship, in East and West. Ironically maybe, in Greek Orthodox liturgical practice it is so self-evident, that it has not been an object of study for Greek academics. Its importance lies in the fact that it expresses exactly the accomplished Byzantine anagnostic-liturgical programme, which has been in use since the eighth century and serves as the basis (the hermeneutic-liturgical skeleton) for Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codex research. Moreover, both these central NT codex forms (the greatest part of the preserved manuscripts of this type stem from the eighth-ninth centuries onwards) find their origin and raison d'être in this system. Consequently, it is relevant for cataloguing work in order to set up appropriate codex classifications.

6. Outlines of a codex evolution: from Tetraevangelion to Evangelion

On the basis of the preceding account concerning the creation of pericope numbers in the early Christian and Byzantine era[78], one can reconstruct the different steps in codex evolution of the Tetraevangelion and Evangelion[79] from the beginning of the fourth to the eighth century.

[77] See C. R. Gregory Vol III, p. 190, 'Abkürzungen', p. 1378: 'ἀναγν.: Lesestücke, ἀναγνώσεις, ἀναγνώσματα, numerirt'.

[78] Contributions to the codex history of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion has been recently provided by J. Lowden 2009, pp. 15-18; C. R. D. Jordan 2009, pp. 2-15 ('The Emergence of the Greek Gospel Lectionary in the Middle Byzantine period') and P. Canart 2008, pp. 1-32. Cf. also Y. Burns 1982, C. R. Gregory I 1900 and 1902.

[79] See also M. Garzaniti 2001 for a clear and in many aspects helpful introduction to the codex forms of the Byzantine fourfold Gospel (of both its chronological and liturgical codex formations), in which the Byzantine codex tradition of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion are reviewed and discussed from the point of view of the Slavic manuscript tradition of the

- Stage 1: There was a need in the early Church to bring the four Gospels together into one codex, intended to be read from during liturgical gatherings (second – third c.): *establishment and consolidation of the pre-Byzantine Tetraevangelion codex and initial stage of liturgical formation of pericopes*[80].
- Stage 2: There was a gradual development of early Byzantine reading systems in early Christian local churches and monastic settlements on the basis of the fourfold Gospel codex (fourth – eighth centuries): *development of early Byzantine liturgical reading schemes*.
- Stage 3: There was a development of the full Byzantine anagnostic-liturgical programme (from the fourth century onwards culminating towards the end of the seventh century[81]): *based on the fully accomplished Typikon in two annual cycles: synaxarion and menologion, with the liturgical Tetraevangelion codex central stage*.
- Stage 4: An apparatus was added to the Tetraevangelion codices with *pericope* numbers in the margins, first the Ammonian-Eusebian and later the Byzantine pericope system (developed and introduced between the fourth and eighth centuries), *with tables at the end or beginning of the codices (synaxarion/menologion), including the full anagnostic-liturgical programme*.
- Stage 5: A new codex form, the Evangelion ('full type'), was created, including the four Gospels (Tetraevangelion), *recomposed according to the full anagnostic-liturgical middle Byzantine system.*
- Stage 6: Other subtypes of the full Evangelion type (*l*esk, *l*sk, *l*k, *l*sel) were created on the basis of the full type (see thesis of Ehrhard[82]).

Diagram: Outlines of a codex evolution (fourth – ninth Centuries)

Early Christian and Byzantine pericope systems: textual-concordant and liturgical-calendric referential systems used by the Church for public reading and explanation and for private reading[83].

Postulated: a Tetraevangelion archetype codex with Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus : siglum T Ω.

[Tetraevangelion Archetype Ω]

***Early Byzantine period** (fourth – seventh century)*

Textual-concordant		**Liturgical-calendric**
Ammonian-Eusebian concordant		Chrysostom's homilies on the Gospels : pericopes
system : pericopes & canon tables		of Matthew and John: continuous reading of Gospel pericopes in liturgical context the whole Year round for Saturdays and Sundays.

four Gospels. Important are esp. Kap. I 'Die liturgische Funktion des Evangelienbuchs' and Kap. II 'Die Struktur des Evangelienbuchs'. Cf. C. R. D. Jordan 2009.

[80] See D. Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, Oxford, 2000.

[81] See Y. Burns 1982.

[82] See A. Ehrhard vol I 1937, p. 32: 'Es leuchtet ein, daß er sie nur erfüllen konnte (eine Auswahl kann nur aus einem größeren Ganzen getroffen werden), wenn er von Anfang an die volle Gestalt hatte'. More recently confirmed by C. R. D. Jordan 2009, p. 12, p. 336 (cf. p. 313 with regard to Burns and Rutz).

[83] It is sometimes suggested, but there was not a sharp demarcation line between public and private reading of Scripture in Byzantine tradition, in particular not in the monasteries. See C. R. D. Jordan 2009, 'The Function of Greek Gospel Lectionaries: Public, Private or Display?', pp. 79-117.

[Evolution Byzantine liturgical apparatus in Tetraevangelion codices]

Two principles of liturgical reading were developed and combined:
continuous and eclectic anagnosis

↙ ↘

***Middle Byzantine period: First Stage** (eighth – ninth century)*

Tetraevangelion codices (and lit. app.)		**Evangelion codices (full and middle form)**
[Tetraevangelion archetype]	←	Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. Cod. Gr. 3, palimpsest, VIII c., Maj. 89 ff., 2 cols. [Gregory/Aland *l* 293 = 'FULL TYPE'].
	←	Hagion Oros, Dionysiou 90 (1), VIII c., Maj, 237 ff, 2 cols. [Gregory/Aland *l* 627 = 'MIDDLE-TYPE'].
Codex Cyprius and codex Campianus, IX. c., Maj., [Gregory/Aland K 017 and M 021 = 'MIDDLE-TYPES' in synaxarion tables].		Carpentras, Bibl. munic. 10 (I.11), IX c., Maj., 277 ff., 2 cols.[Gregory/Aland *l* 292 ='FULL-TYPE' (incomplete in Matthew weeks.).
Hagion Oros, Dionysiou (10) 55, IX c., Maj., 259 ff., 2 cols. [Gregory Ω /Aland, Ω 045 = 'MIDDLE-TYPE'].		Muenchen, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Gr. 329, IX c., Maj., 430 ff., 2 col. [Gregory/Aland l 34 = 'FULL-TYPE'].
S. Peterburg, Russian Nat. Libr. Gr. 34, IX c., Maj., 350 ff., 1 col. [Gregory *Π* / Aland *Π* 041 = 'MIDDLE TYPE'].		Vatican, Bibl. Vat, Vat. Gr. 2144, IX c., Maj., 306 ff., 2 cols., [Gregory Evl 33/Aland l 563 = 'MIDDLE TYPE'].

The Byzantine liturgical pericope system is reflected in the full daily anagnostic-liturgical programme (Typikon) performed in Byzantine patriarchal churches and coenobitic monasteries. Evidence is reflected in both Tetraevangelion (as the Cyprius and the Campianus codices and see the list in Jordan 2009) and Evangelion codex forms (Burns and Jordan), as well as in Typikon manuscripts from the ninth century onwards (codices of Patmos and Sinai), see the lower borderline of the overview above.

7. Conclusions and perspectives

In this article we have asserted that the Ammonian-Eusebian (early Christian) and Byzantine pericope systems are of central importance in the study of Byzantine Gospel codices (Tetraevangelion and Evangelion) and their classification into subgroups. The pericope numbers namely indicate the underlying *textual concordant* and *liturgical calendric* structure of both codex forms (Tetraevangelion and Evangelion). The same pericope numbers (Ammonian-Eusebian) were also adopted in Typikon manuscripts. Thus they are also relevant for comparative, connective studies between biblical and liturgical codices.

In other words, a thoroughly worked out reading programme was developed from the fourth to the seventh century, with a liturgical calendar as basic framework for gospel lessons, together with apostle, psalm and prophets readings, on which the homilies were based. The Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus served as a basis for later developments in the reading of the scriptures and the building up of the litur-

gical hermeneutics of the Byzantine calendar, the synaxarion (which Gospels reading were read at the midnight Pascha Orthros and which pericope during the Divine Liturgy on Pascha Sunday etc.).

In the foregoing we have demonstrated that the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus was used in three functions:

1. to provide a referential system of textual divisions, in the form of prefixed kanon tables (columns) and in the margins of the text of the four Gospels (with pericope numbers for each of the Gospels individually);
2. to provide a referential system of concordant connections of the four Gospels, adopted in prefixed canons (I-X) and marginal canon numbers (above the Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers) indicating/enumerating the groups of concordant periscopes (which four Gospels have in common, three, two, etc.);
3. to provide a referential system of liturgical calendric divisions of the four Gospels (liturgical pericopes and numberings), attested in codd. Cyprius and Campianus (among a considerable group of other Tetraevangelia and Evangelia).

Now we know more about the original potential of the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus[84], we should reckon with an original liturgical reference system too (besides the textual and concordant functions). In the fourth century in Jerusalem (Itenary Etheria and Armenian lectionary), as well as in following centuries, the Gospels were used for continuous reading in a liturgical-ecclesiastical context, but also with the practice of confined passages per Saturday/Sunday (Chrysostom) together and appointed readings to specific feasts and commemorations in an eclectic manner.

Most probably the Ammonian-Eusebian pericope system lay at the basis of the selection process for the 'hermeneutic-anagnostic choices', which culminated in the course of the seventh century in the accomplished Byzantine liturgical calendar, which was universal. The development of the *Synaxarion* (i.e. the actual name of the Byzantine liturgical calendar system) reached a mature and nearby complete fashion, although further evolution continued (with new feasts and ecclesiastical occasions being added by the Church).

The relevance of the early Christian and Byzantine pericope system in the four Gospels for present CBM work (classification of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices) can be summarised as follows: 1) both the Byzantine pericope systems and the connective numbering systems discussed in this article have contributed to an insight to the establishment and consolidation of the formation of both Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codex forms, from a codex historical perspective, which serves as the basis for the (new) CBM classification model; 2) the presence of the Amm.-Eus. apparatus can help to identify partial and fragmented Tetraevangelion codices in the period between the fourth and the eighth century; 3) the appearance of the liturgical pericopes in the eighth and ninth century Tetraevangelion codices coincided with the appearance of a new type of Tetraevangelion codices, which can help to establish the 'archetypes' of the Evangelion codices and probably the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus in Tetraevangelion codices was also used in the 'recomposition procedure' (Jordan, Burns).

The implication of the above is that we must seriously keep the codico-liturgical factor that stems from the Eusebian apparatus in mind, and look not only at purely textual division aspects. Eusebius may have played a more important role in the establishment and history of Tetraevangelion codex forma-

[84] It is interesting to note that the current present-day larger chapter divisions (see O. Schmid 1892) could have been derived from Byzantine manuscripts with the Ammonian-Eusebian textual divisions. Probably such equipped codices were used for Latin manuscripts in order to 'return' later to fifteenth century Byzantine manuscripts. Compare (in annex tables) the Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers with the 'beginnings' of the current chapters, which correspond nearly completely in Matthew, Mark, Luke and considerably in John (non-correspondence is attested only in Mt 2, Mk 2, Lk 4 Jh 13 times).

tion, by means of Tetraevangelion *symphonia* (chapter divisions and canons), the collected external references in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* concerning the 'holy fourfold Evangelion' codex (ἡ ἁγία τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύς)[85], and the well-known reference to his contribution in the 'making of copies' (in this way) in the *De vita Constantini* IV, 36-37, than we initially may have thought.

> 'I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, practical form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art'[86].

This could be a fine starting point for new investigations in the direction of the codification and transmission of the four Gospels (*ta tessara evangelia*)[87]. Which codex *types* were copied upon the command of Emperor Constantine the Great? More evidence will probably arise to substantiate the observations and the hypothesis launched here, that these codices were *Tetraevangelia*, destined to be read in the churches (a hypothesis defended by Harnack, Schwartz, Bardenhewer, Nordenfalk, Robbins). It would be opportune to approach this question from a codico-liturgical point of view.

It could be highly relevant to study the four Gospel codices that lie at the base of the great pandect manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries (codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and Ephraimi Syri rescriptus[88]), especially since it should be postulated that behind these ancient codices lies the Eusebian Tetraevangelion archetype codex (preceded by the *Letter to Carpianus* and the Ten Tables of Canons [T Ω]), which were adopted in the margins, with the twofold numerical references (the upper number for the pericopes and the lower for the concordant passages in other Gospels). It is interesting to set up a new type of codex-based textuological studies in historical context and to answer questions of the liturgical embedding of the four Gospels in a very early stage of transmission resulting into a critical edition of the Ammonian-Eusebian Tetraevangelion archetype.

[85] The canonical rule par excellence in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* is the reading in the churches (everywhere), see for instance, EH III 25 concerning the Gospel according to John.

[86] Eusebius of Casearea, *Vita Constantini*, ed. by I. A. Heikel, p. 136.

[87] A first step was done by C. R. D. Jordan 2009, but only one Gospel (John) was taken as a point of departure. The fourfold codex formation of the text demands a textual approach in which the four gospels together are investigated.

[88] The liturgical apparatus in these codices should be carefully studied with regard to the pericope systems included.

Annexes: Concordant Tables (1-4) of Early and Middle Byzantine pericope numbers

Explanation of Annex 1-4

Concordant Tables of early Byzantine (Ammonian-Eusebian) and middle Byzantine pericope numbers in Tetraevangelion (and Evangelion) codices.

There are four concordant tables containing the pericope numbers of each of the four Gospels : **Πίναξ** Α'– Δ': Ματθαῖος Μάρκος **Λουκᾶς'Ιωάννης**. The data presented in this article is based on the editions of Von Soden 1911[2] (column 1), Scholz NTG 1830 (column 2), Androuses Hieron Evangelion 2003 (column 3) in order to show the adoption of the Ammonian-Eusebian numerical principle for liturgical ends. The manuscript sources behind these editions have been studied and checked. The conclusion is clear: a new critical collation and edition of the synaxarion and menologion data provided in K and M and some other relevant codices of this time and thereafter is greatly needed.

In each concordant table we have placed:

1. the early Byzantine (Ammonian-Eusebian) consecutive numbers, which are found in the margins of the main text of Tetraevangelion codices. They indicate the concordant pericopes of the Gospels, since the beginning of the fourth century (column 1α). The modern chapters and verse numbers are added in order to clarify the beginnings of the pericopes (column 1β), the corresponding canon numbers have been omitted because they are not relevant for our purpose. Used is the edition of Von Soden 1911[2], pp. 396-402. These numberings were compared with the Nestle-Aland NTG[27] edition and compared with the numbers found in codex Sinaiticus' (column γ). Particular attention is given to the exact total numbers of Amm.-Eus. pericope numbers per Evangelion, their precise place in the margins, the number of pericopes in the K and M manuscripts [see the remarks concerning the manuscript basis above];
2. the Ammonian-Eusebian numbers were used to indicate the (larger) liturgical pericopes of the middle Byzantine period, at least since the ninth century (column 2); the omission of numbers (gaps in the original sequences) demonstrate the new use of the Amm-Eus numbers for the liturgical divisions of the four Gospels; these data are based on the edition of Scholz I 1830, pp. 453-493 and the Paris codices Cyprius and Campianus [see the remarks concerning the manuscript basis above];
3. a new (reduced) numbering system of the same middle Byzantine liturgical pericopes was introduced (the inventor of this numerical system is unknown), at least since the tenth century (column 3); the modern chapters and verses are added in order to show the confines of the liturgical pericopes (the beginnings and ends of the verses, which were necessary for identification of the prescribed passages, since the later chapter and verse divisions were not known then); the early Byzantine Ammonian-Eusebian numbers used for the liturgical pericopes correspond to the later initiated (middle Byzantine) numberings system, which is made visible in placing them in parallel columns in the concordant tables. These liturgical pericope numbers are derived from the Greek edition of the Hieron Evangelion (ed. Androuses and others, Athens, 2003) and compared with Karakallou 300. [see further the remarks concerning the manuscript basis above].

Decimal pericope numbers in Arabic numerals have been placed before column 1 for a quick overview.

I.	**Τετραευαγγέλιον** **Πίναξ Α' :** **Ματθαῖος**						
I. Μτ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB ***Amm-Eus*[1]** **Concordant Pericopes**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** ***Amm-Eus*[2]** **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** ***Anonym*** **Liturgical pericopes**	***Current*** **Chapters**	***Current*** **Verses**
	α'	1, 1		**α'**	α'	Α'	1-25
	β'	1, 17					
	γ'	1, 18		**γ'**	β'	Α'	18-25
[2, 1]	δ	1, 19		**δ'**	γ'	Β'	1-12
	ε'	2, 5					
	ς'	2, 7		**ς'**	δ'	Β'	13-23
	ζ'	3, 1		**ζ'**	ε'	Γ'	1-6
	η'	3, 3					
	θ'	3, 4					
10	ι'	3, 7		x	x	[Γ']	[7-12]
	ια'	3, 11					
	ιβ'	3, 12					
	ιγ'	3, 13		**ιγ'**	ς'	Γ'	13-17
	ιδ'	3, 16					
	ιε'	4, 1		**ιε'**	ζ'	Δ'	1-11
	ις'	4, 2					
	ιζ'	4, 11					
	ιη'	4, 12		**ιη'**	η'	Δ'	12-17
	ιθ'	4, 13					
20	κ'	4, 17		**κ'**	θ'	Δ'	18-23
	κα'	4, 19					
	κβ'	4, 21					
	κγ'	4, 23		**κγ'**	ι'	Δ'	23-25
	κδ'	5, 1		**[κδ']**	[ι']	Ε'	1-12 (13)
	κε'	5, 2					
	κς'	5, 3	*5, 5*				
	κζ'	5, 5	*5, 4*				
	κη'	5, 6					
	κθ'	5, 7					
30	λ'	5, 11					
	λα'	5, 13					
	λβ'	5, 14					
	λγ'	5, 17					
	λδ'	5, 18					

I. Mτ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant Pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	λε′	5, 19		λε′	ια′	Ε′	14-19
	λς′	5, 25		λε′	ιβ′	Ε′	20-26 (30)
	λζ′	5, 27		λζ′	ιγ′	Ε′	27-32 (41)
	λη′	5, 39b		λζ′	ιδ′	Ε′	33-41
	λθ′	5, 41		λθ′	ιε′	Ε′	42-48
40	μ′	5, 43					
			5, 44				
	μα′	5, 46					
	μβ′	6, 1		μβ′	ις′	Ϛ′	1-13
	μγ′	6, 7					
	μδ′	6, 14		μδ′	ιζ′	Ϛ′	14-21
	με′	6, 16					
	μς′	6, 20					
	μζ′	6, 22		μζ′	ιη′	Ϛ′	22-33
	μη′	6, 24					
	μθ′	6, 25		μθ′	ιθ′	Ϛ′	31-34 (α)
50	ν′	7, 1		ν′	κ′	Ζ′	1-8
	να′	7, 3					
	νβ′	7, 6					
	νγ′	7, 7		[νγ′]	[ιθ′]	Ζ′	9-11 (14) β)
	νδ′	7, 12		νδ′	κα′	Ζ′	12-21
	νε′	7, 13					
	νς′	7, 15		νς′	κβ′	Ζ′	15-21
	νζ′	7, 16b					
	νη′	7, 17					
	νθ′	7, 21		νθ′	κγ′	Ζ′	21-23
60	ξ′	7, 22					
	ξα′	7, 24		ξα′	κδ′	Ζ′	24-29
	ξβ′	7, 28					
	ξγ′	8, 1		[ξγ′]	[κδ′]	Η′	1-4
	ξδ′	8, 5		ξδ′	κε′	Η′	5-13
	ξε′	8, 11					
	ξς′	8, 13					
	ξζ′	8, 14		ξζ′	κς′	Η′	14-23
	ξη′	8, 19					
	ξθ′	8, 23		ξθ′	κζ′	Η′	23-27
				ξθ′	κη′	Η′	28-34
70	ο′	9, 1		[ο′]	[κθ′]	[Θ′]	[1]
				ο′	κθ′	Θ′	1-8

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	οα'	9, 9		οα'	λ'	Θ'	9-13
	οβ'	9, 10					
	ογ'	9, 12		ογ'	λα'	Θ'	14-17
	οδ'	9, 18		οδ'	λβ'	Θ'	18-26
	οε'	9, 27		οε'	λγ'	Θ'	27-35
	ος'	9, 35					
	οζ'	9, 36		οζ'	λδ'	Θ'	36-38
	οη'	9, 37					
	οθ'	10, 1		[οθ']	[λδ']	I'	1-8
80	π'	10, 2					
	πα'	10, 5					
	πβ'	10, 7		πβ'	λε'	I'	9-15
	πγ'	10, 11					
	πδ'	10, 12					
	πε'	10, 14					
	πς'	10, 16		πς'	λς'	I'	16-22
	πζ'	10, 17					
	πη'	10, 19					
	πθ'	10, 23		πθ'	λζ'	I'	23-31
90	ϟ'	10, 24					
	ϟα'	10, 25					
	ϟβ'	10, 26b					
	ϟγ'	10, 27		ϟγ'	λη' 1	I'	32-36 (α)
	ϟδ'	10, 32		ϟδ' (ϟε')	λη' 2	I'	32-33 (α)
	ϟε'	10, 34					
	ϟς'	10, 37		ϟς'	[λη' 2]	[I'	37-38] (β)
				ϟς'	λθ'	I'	37-42 (α)
	ϟζ'	10, 39					
	ϟη'	10, 40					
	ϟθ'	10, 41					
100	ρ'	10, 42					
	ρα'	11, 1		ρα'	[λη' 1]	[IA'	1] (β)
	ρβ'	11, 2		ρβ'	μ'	IA'	2-15
	ργ'	11, 10					
	ρδ'	11, 11					
	ρε'	11, 12					
	ρς'	11, 14					
	ρζ'	11, 16		ρζ'	μα'	IA'	16-20

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*^{1} **Concordant Pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*^{2} **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	ρη'	11, 20		**ρη'**	μβ'	ΙΑ'	20-26
	ρθ'	11, 23c					
110	ρι'	11, 25					
	ρια'	11, 27		**ρια'**	μγ'	ΙΑ'	27-30
	ριβ'	11, 27c					
	ριγ'	11, 28					
	ριδ'	12, 1		**ριδ'**	μδ'	ΙΒ'	1-8
	ριε'	12, 5					
	ρις'	12, 9		**ρις'**	με'	ΙΒ'	9-13
	ριζ'	12, 14		**ριζ'**	μς'	ΙΒ'	14-16 (α)
	ριη'	12, 15		x	x	[ΙΒ']	[17-21]
	ριθ'	12, 22		**[ριθ']**	[μς']	[ΙΒ'	22-30] (β)
120	ρκ'	12, 23					
	ρκα'	12, 24					
	ρκβ'	12, 25					
	ρκγ'	12, 31		**ρκγ'**	μζ'	ΙΒ'	30-37
	ρκδ'	12, 33					
	ρκε'	12, 35					
	ρκς'	12, 36					
	ρκζ'	12, 38		**ρκζ'**	μη'	ΙΒ'	38-45
	ρκη'	12, 39					
	ρκθ'	12, 43					
130	ρλ'	12, 46		**ρλ'**	μθ'	ΙΒ'	46-50
	ρλα'	13, 1		**[ρλα']**	[μθ']	ΙΓ'	1-3
				ρλα'	ν'	ΙΓ'	3-9 (12)
				ρλα'	να'	ΙΓ'	10-23
	ρλβ'	13, 12					
	ρλγ'	13, 13					
	ρλδ'	13, 16					
	ρλε'	13, 18					
	ρλς'	13, 24		**ρλς'**	νβ'	ΙΓ'	24-30
	ρλζ'	13, 31		**ρλζ'**	νγ'	ΙΓ'	31-36
	ρλη'	13, 33					
	ρλθ'	13, 34					
140	ρμ'	13, 36		**ρμ'**	νδ'	ΙΓ'	36-43
				ρμ'	νε'	ΙΓ'	44-54
	ρμα'	13, 54		**ρμα'**	νς'	ΙΓ'	54-58
	ρμβ'	13, 57b					

I. Mτ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant Pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	ρμγ'	14, 1		ρμγ'	νζ'	ΙΔ'	1-13
	ρμδ'	14, 3					
	ρμε'	14, 6					
	ρμς'	14, 13		ρμς'	νη'	ΙΔ'	14-22
	ρμζ'	14, 15					
	ρμη'	14, 22		ρμη'	νθ'	ΙΔ'	22-34
	ρμθ'	14, 23					
150	ρν'	14, 23b					
	ρνα'	14, 28					
	ρνβ'	14, 30	*14, 31*				
	ρνγ'	14, 34	*14, 35*	ρνγ'	ξ'	ΙΔ'	35-36
	ρνδ'	15, 1		[ρνδ']	[ξ']	ΙΕ'	1-11
	ρνε'	15, 12		ρνε'	ξα'	ΙΕ'	12-21
	ρνς'	15, 14					
	ρνζ'	15, 15					
	ρνη'	15, 24		ρνη'	ξβ'	ΙΕ'	21-28
	ρνθ'	15, 25					
160	ρξ'	15, 29		ρξ'	ξγ'	ΙΕ'	29-31
	ρξα'	16, 1		ρξα'	ξδ'	ΙΕ'	32-39
	ρξβ'	16, 2		ρξβ'	ξε'	ΙϚ'	1-6
	ρξγ'	16, 4					
	ρξδ'	16, 5		ρξδ'	ξς'	ΙϚ'	6-12
	ρξε'	16, 7					
	ρξς'	16, 13		ρξς'	ξζ'	ΙϚ'	13-19
	ρξζ'	16, 17					
	ρξη'	16, 20		ρξη'	ξη'	ΙϚ'	20-24
	ρξθ'	16, 22					
170	ρο'	16, 24		ρο'	ξθ'	ΙϚ'	24-28
	ροα'	16, 27					
[17, 1]	ροβ'	16, 28		ροβ'	ο'	ΙΖ'	1-9
	ρογ'	17, 10		ρογ'	οα'	ΙΖ'	10-18
	ροδ'	17, 14		ροδ'	οβ'	ΙΖ'	14-23
	ροε'	17, 19					
	ρος'	17, 22					
	ροζ'	17, 24		ροζ'	ογ'	ΙΖ'	24-27
	ροη'	18, 1		ροη'	οδ'	ΙΗ'	1-4
				ροη'	οδ'	ΙΗ'	1-11
	ροθ'	18, 6					

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
180	ρπʹ	18, 8					
	ραʹ	18, 10		**ρπαʹ**	οεʹ	IHʹ	10-20
	ρπβʹ	18, 12					
	ρπγʹ	18, 15					
	ρπδʹ	18, 16					
	ρπεʹ	18, 18		**ρπεʹ**	οςʹ	IHʹ	18-22 (α)
	ρπςʹ	18, 19					
	ρπζʹ	18, 21					
	ρπηʹ	18, 23		**ρπηʹ**	οζʹ	IHʹ	23-35
	ρπθʹ	19, 1		**ρπθʹ**	[οςʹ]	[IΘʹ	1-2] (β)
				ρπθʹ	οηʹ	IΘʹ	3-12
190	ρϟʹ	19, 9					
	ρϟαʹ	19, 10					
	ρϟβʹ	19, 13		**[ρϟβʹ]**	[οςʹ]	[IΘʹ	13-15] (γ)
	ρϟγʹ	19, 16		**ρϟγʹ**	οθʹ	IΘʹ,	16-26
	ρϟδʹ	19, 21					
	ρϟεʹ	19, 22					
	ρϟςʹ	19, 28		**ρϟςʹ**	[ληʹ 2]	[IΘʹ	27-30] (γ)
	ρϟζʹ	19, 28b					
	ρϟηʹ	19, 29					
	ρϟθʹ	19, 30		**ρϟθʹ**	πʹ	Kʹ	1-16
200	σʹ	20, 1					
	σαʹ	20, 17		**σαʹ**	παʹ	Kʹ	17-28
	σβʹ	20, 20					
	σγʹ	20, 24					
	σδʹ	20, 28					
	σεʹ	20, 29		**σεʹ**	πβʹ	Kʹ	29-34
	σςʹ	21, 1		**σςʹ**	πγʹ	KIʹ	1-11 (α)
	σζʹ	21, 4					
	σηʹ	21, 6					
	σθʹ	21, 9					
210	σιʹ	21, 10					
	σιαʹ	21, 12		**σιαʹ**	πδʹ	KIʹ	12-14(α)
	σιβʹ	21, 14					
	σιγʹ	21, 15		**σιγʹ**	[πγʹ]	[KIʹ	15-17] (β)
	σιδʹ	21, 17		**σιδʹ**	[πδʹ]	[KIʹ	17-20] (β)
	σιεʹ	21, 21		**σιδʹ**	πεʹ	KIʹ	18-22

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	σις′	21, 22					
	σιζ′	21, 23		σιζ′	πς′	ΚΙ′	23-27
	σιη′	21, 28		σιη′	πζ′	ΚΙ′	28-32
	σιθ′	21, 33		σιθ′	πη′	ΚΙ′	33-42
220	σκ′	21, 45		σιθ′	πθ′	ΚΙ′	43-46
	σκα′	22, 1		σκα′	ϟ′	ΚΒ′	1-14
	σκβ′	22, 11					
	σκγ′	22, 15		σκγ′	ϟα′	ΚΒ′	15-22
	σκγ′	22, 15		σκγ′	ϟβ′	ΚΒ′	23-33
	σκδ′	22, 34		x	x	[ΚΒ′]	[34]
	σκδ′	22, 34		σκδ′	ϟγ′	ΚΒ′	35-46
	σκε′	22, 41					
	σκς′	22, 46					
	σκζ′	23, 1		σκζ′	ϟδ′	ΚΓ′	1-12
	σκη′	23, 4					
	σκθ′	23, 5					
230	σλ′	23, 8					
	σλα′	23, 11					
	σλβ′	23, 13		σλβ′	ϟε′	ΚΓ′	13-22
	σλγ′	23, 15					
	σλδ′	23, 23		σλδ′	ϟς′	ΚΓ′	23-28
	σλε′	23, 24					
	σλς′	23, 25					
	σλζ′	23, 27					
	σλη′	23, 29		σλη′	ϟζ′	ΚΓ′	29-39
	σλθ′	23, 32					
240	σμ′	23, 34					
	σμα′	23, 37					
	σμβ′	24, 1		σμβ′	ϟη′	ΚΔ′	1-13
	σμγ′	24, 3					
	σμδ′	24, 9					
	σμε′	24, 10		σμε′	ϟθ′	ΚΔ′	13-28
	σμς′	24, 14					
	σμζ′	24, 15					
	σμη	24, 17					
	σμθ′	24, 19					
250	σν′	24, 20					
	σνα′	24, 21					

I. Μτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	σνβʹ	24, 22					
	σνγʹ	24, 23					
	σνδʹ	24, 24					
	σνεʹ	24, 26	*24, 25*				
	σνςʹ	24, 27		σνςʹ	ρʹ	ΚΔʹ	27-33 (α)
	σνζʹ	24, 28					
	σνηʹ	24, 29					
	σνθʹ	24, 30b		σνθʹ	ραʹ	ΚΔʹ	34-37 (α)
260	σξʹ	24, 36		σξʹ	ρβʹ	ΚΔʹ	36-51 (α)
	σξαʹ	24, 37					
	σξβʹ	24, 40					
	σξγʹ	24, 42		[σξγʹ]	[ρʹ]	[ΚΔʹ	42-51] (β)
				σξγʹ	ργʹ	ΚΔʹ	42-46
				[σξγʹ]	[ραʹ]	[ΚΔʹ	42-44] (β)
	σξδʹ	24, 43					
	σξεʹ	24, 45					
	σξςʹ	24, 46					
	σξζʹ	24, 48					
	σξηʹ	25, 1		[σξηʹ]	[ρβʹ]	[ΚΕʹ	1-46] (β)
				[σξηʹ]	[ρβʹ]	ΚΕʹ	1-13
	σξθʹ	25, 14		σξθʹ	ρεʹ	ΚΕʹ	14-30
270	σοʹ	25, 15					
	σοαʹ	25, 29					
	σοβʹ	25, 30					
	σογʹ	25, 31		σογʹ	ρςʹ	ΚΕʹ	31-46
	σοδʹ	26, 1		[σοδʹ]	[ρβʹ]	[ΚΕʹ	1-2] (γ)
	σοδʹ	26, 1		σοδʹ	ρζʹ	ΚϚʹ	1-20 (α)
	σοεʹ	26, 3					
	σοςʹ	26, 6					
	σοζʹ	26, 12					
	σοηʹ	26, 14					
	σοθʹ	26, 21	*26, 20*	σοθʹ	[ρζʹ]	[ΚϚʹ	21-39] (β)
280	σπʹ	26, 22					
	σπαʹ	26, 23					
	σπβʹ	26, 24b					
	σπγʹ	26, 25					
	σπδʹ	26, 26					
	σπεʹ	26, 27					
	σπςʹ	26, 30					

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant Pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	σπζ'	26, 31					
	σπη'	26, 31b					
	σπθ'	26, 33					
290	σϟ'	26, 35					
	σϟα'	26, 36					
	σϟβ'	26, 36b					
	σϟγ'	26, 38					
	σϟδ'	26, 39					
	σϟε'	26, 39b					
	σϟς'	26, 40		[σϟς']	[ρζ']	[ΚϚ'	40-75] (γ)
	σϟζ'	26, 41b		[σος'] !	ρη'	ΚϚ'	6-16
	σϟη'	26, 42					
	σϟθ'	26, 45					
300	τ'	26, 47					
	τα'	26, 48					
	τβ'	26, 51					
	τγ'	26, 52					
	τδ'	26, 55					
	τε'	26, 56					
	τς'	26, 57		τς'	ρθ'		57-75 (α)
	τζ'	26, 58					
	τη'	26, 59					
	τθ'	26, 60b					
310	τι'	26, 64					
	τια'	26, 65					
	τιβ'	26, 65b					
	τιγ'	26, 67					
	τιδ'	26, 69					
	τιε'	26, 71					
	τις'	26, 75					
	τιζ'	27, 1		[τιζ']	[ρζ']	[ΚΖ'	1-2] (δ)
				τιζ'	ρια' (!)	ΚΖ'	1-56
				τιζ'	ρι' (!)	ΚΖ'	1-38 (α)
	τιη'	27, 2					
	τιθ'	27, 3		τιθ'	[ρια' [ρι']]	[ΚΖ'	3-32] (β)
320	τκ'	27, 11					
	τκα'	27, 12					
	τκβ'	27, 15					

I. Mτ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant Pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	τκγ′	27, 16					
	τκδ′	27, 19					
	τκε′	27, 20					
	τκς′	27, 22					
	τκζ′	27, 24					
	τκη′	27, 26					
	τκθ′	27, 27					
330	τλ′	27, 30					
	τλα′	27, 32					
	τλβ′	27, 33		**τλβ′**	ριγ′ [ρια′]	[ΚΖ′	33-54] (γ)
	τλγ′	27, 34					
	τλδ′	27, 35					
	τλε′	27, 37					
	τλς′	27, 38					
	τλζ′	27, 39		**τλζ′**	[ρι′] (!)	[ΚΖ′	39-54] (β)
	τλη′	27, 41					
	τλθ′	27, 44					
340	τμ′	27, 45					
	τμα′	27, 46					
	τμβ′	27, 48					
	τμγ′	27, 50					
	τμδ′	27, 51					
	τμε′	27, 51b					
	τμς′	27, 54					
	τμζ′	27, 55		**τμζ′**	[ρι′]	[ΚΖ′	55-61] (γ)
	τμη′	27, 57					
	τμθ′	27, 59					
350	τν′	27, 61					
	τνα′	27, 62		**τνα′**	[ριδ′] [ριγ′]	[ΚΖ′	62-66] (δ)
	τνβ′	28, 1		**τνβ′**	ριε′ [ριδ′]	ΚΗ′	1-20
	τνγ′	28, 5					
	τνδ′	28, 8					
	τνε′	28, 9		**τνε′**	ρις′ [ριε′]	ΚΗ′	16-20
	[τνς′]						
	Total 355 [K: 356]			**(Total** 116)	**Total** 116 [115]		

II.	**Τετραευαγγέλιον** **Πίναξ Β' :** **Μάρκος**						
II. Μκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB ***Amm-Eus*[1]** **Concordant Periscopes**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})**	**MB (A)** ***Amm-Eus*[2]** **Liturgical Periscopes**	**MB (B)** ***Anonym*** **Liturgical Periscopes**	***Current*** **Chapters**	***Current*** **Verses**
	α'	1, 1		**α'**	α'	Α'	1-8
	β'	1, 3					
	γ'	1, 4					
	δ'	1, 7					
	ε'	1, 9		**ε'**	β'	Α'	9-15
	ς'	1, 12					
	ζ'	1, 13					
	η'	1. 14					
	θ'	1, 14b		**θ'**	γ'	Α'	16-22
10	ι'	1, 17					
	ια'	1, 19		**ια'**	δ'	Α'	23-28
	ιβ'	1, 21					
	ιγ'	1, 22					
	ιδ'	1, 23					
	ιε'	1, 29		**ιε'**	ε'	Α'	29-35
	ις'	1, 31b	*1, 34b*				
	ιζ'	1, 35		**ιζ'**	ς'	Α'	35-44
	ιη'	1, 40					
	ιθ'	1, 45				[Α']	[45]
20	κ'	2, 1		**κ'**	ζ'	Β'	1-12
						[Β']	[13]
	κα'	2, 13		**κα'**	η'	Β'	14-17
	κβ'	2, 15					
	κγ'	2, 17		**κγ'**	θ'	Β'	18-22
				κγ'	ι'	Β'	23-28
	κδ'	2, 23					
	κε'	3, 1	*2, 27*				
	κς'	3, 6		[κγ']	[ι']	Γ'	1-5
	κζ'	7b		**κζ'**	ια'	Γ'	6-12
	κη'	3, 11b					
	κθ'	3, 13		**κθ'**	ιβ'	Γ'	13-21
30	λ'	3, 16					
	λα'	3, 20		**λα'**	ιγ'	Γ'	20-27
	λβ'	3, 22					

II. Mk.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Periscopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical Periscopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical Periscopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	λγ′	3, 23					
	λδ′	3, 28		λδ′	ιδ′	Γ′	28-35
	λε′	3, 31					
	λς′	4, 1		λς′	ιε′	Δ′	1-9
				λς′	ις′	Δ′	10-23
	λζ′	4, 11b					
	λη′	4, 14					
	λθ′	4, 21					
40	μ′	4, 22					
	μα′	4, 24		μα′	ιζ′	Δ′	24-34
	μβ′	4, 25					
	μγ′	4, 26					
	μδ′	4, 30					
	με′	4, 33					
	μς′	4, 34b					
	μζ′	4, 35		μζ′	ιη′	Δ′	35-41
				μζ′	ιθ′	Ε′	1-20
[5, 1]	μη′	5, 18				[Ε′]	[21]
	μθ′	5, 21		μθ′	κ′	Ε′	22-24
				μθ′	κα′	Ε′	24-34
					[κ′]	Ε′	35-43
					[κ′]	Ϛ′	1
50	ν′	6, 1		ν′	κβ′	Ϛ′	1-7
	να′	6, 4					
	νβ′	6, 4b	*6, 6b*				
	νγ′	6, 7		νγ′	κγ′	Ϛ′	7-13
	νδ′	6, 10					
	νε′	6, 11					
	νς′	6, 12					
	νζ′	6, 14		νζ′	κδ′	Ϛ′	14-30
	νη′	6, 16	*6, 15*				
	νθ′	6, 17					
60	ξ′	6, 21	*6, 18*				
	ξα′	6, 30		ξα′	κε′	Ϛ′	30-45
	ξβ′	6, 31					
	ξγ′	6, 34	*6, 32*				
	ξδ′	6, 35					

II. Mκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Periscopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical Periscopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical Periscopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ξε'	6, 45		ξε'	κϛ'	Ϛ'	45-53
	ξϛ'	6, 46					
	ξζ'	6, 47					
	ξη'	6, 51					
	ξθ'	6, 53		ξθ'	κζ'	Ϛ'	54-56
70	ο'	7, 1		[ο']		Z'	1-8
	οα'	7, 5		οα'	κη'	Z'	5-16
				οα'	κθ'	Z'	14-24
	οβ'	7, 17		οβ'	λ'	Z'	24-30
	ογ'	7, 26b					
	οδ'	7, 31		οδ'	λα'	Z'	31-37
	οε'	7, 36b					
[8, 1]	οϛ'	7, 37		οϛ'	λβ'	H'	1-10
	οζ'	8, 11		οζ'	λγ'	H'	11-21
	οη'	8, 12					
	οθ'	8, 15					
80	π'	8, 16					
	πα'	8, 22		πα'	λδ'	H'	22-26
	πβ'	8, 27		πβ'	λε'	H'	27-31
	πγ'	8, 30	*8, 29*	πγ'	λϛ'	H'	30-34
	πδ'	8, 32b					
	πε'	8, 34		πε'	λζ'	H'	34-38
	πϛ'	8, 38					
	πζ'	9, 1		[πζ']	λζ'	Θ'	1
				πζ'	λη'	Θ'	2-9
	πη'	9, 10		πη'	λθ'	Θ'	10-15
	πθ'	9, 11					
90	ϟ'	9, 14				[Θ']	[16]
	ϟα'	9, 17		ϟα'	μ'	Θ'	17-31
	ϟβ'	9, 28					
	ϟγ'	9, 30					
	ϟδ'	9, 33		ϟ'	μα'	Θ'	33-41
	ϟε'	9, 34					
	ϟϛ'	9, 37b					
	ϟζ'	9, 38					
	ϟη'	9, 41					
	ϟθ'	9, 42		ϟθ'	μβ'	Θ'	42-50

II. Mκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB ***Amm-Eus*[1]** **Concordant Periscopes**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** ***Amm-Eus*[2]** **Liturgical Periscopes**	**MB (B)** ***Anonym*** **Liturgical Periscopes**	***Current*** **Chapters**	***Current*** **Verses**
100	ρʹ	9, 43					
	ραʹ	9, 44	*9, 48*				
	ρβʹ	9, 50					
	ργʹ	10, 1		[ργʹ]	[μβʹ]	Iʹ	1
				ργʹ	μγʹ	Iʹ	2-12
	ρδʹ	10, 10					
	ρεʹ	10, 11		ρεʹ	μδʹ	Iʹ	11-16
	ρςʹ	10, 13					
	ρζʹ	10, 17		ρζʹ	μεʹ	Iʹ	17-27
	ρηʹ	10, 21					
	ρθʹ	10, 22		ρθʹ	μςʹ	Iʹ	23-32
110	ριʹ	10, 29					
	ριαʹ	10, 31					
	ριβʹ	10, 32		ριβʹ	μζʹ	Iʹ	32-45
	ριγʹ	10, 35					
	ριδʹ	10, 41					
	ριεʹ	10, 45					
	ριςʹ	10, 46		[ριςʹ]	μηʹ	Iʹ	46-52
	ριζʹ	11, 1		[ριζʹ]	μθʹ	IAʹ	1-11
	ριηʹ	11, 4					
	ριθʹ	11, 9					
120	ρκʹ	11, 11					
	ρκαʹ	11, 15b					
	ρκβʹ	11, 18					
	ρκγʹ	11, 19					
	ρκδʹ	11, 22		[ρκδʹ]	νʹ	IAʹ	11-23
				[ρκδʹ]	ναʹ	IAʹ	23-26
	ρκεʹ	11, 24					
	ρκςʹ	11, 25					
	ρκζʹ	11, 27		[ρκζʹ]	νβʹ	IAʹ	27-33
	ρκηʹ	12, 1		[ρκηʹ]	νγʹ	IBʹ	1ʹ-12
	ρκθʹ	12, 12					
130	ρλʹ	12, 13		[ρλʹ]	νδʹ	IBʹ	13-17
				[ρλʹ]	νεʹ	IBʹ	18-27
	ρλαʹ	12, 28		[ρλαʹ]	νςʹ	IBʹ	28-37
	ρλβʹ	12, 32					
	ρλγʹ	12, 34b					
	ρλδʹ	12, 35					

II. Μκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Periscopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical Periscopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical Periscopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ρλε′	12, 38		[ρλε′]	νζ′	ΙΒ′	38-44
	ρλϛ′	12, 40					
	ρλζ′	13, 1		[ρλζ′]	νη′	ΙΓ′	1-9
	ρλη′	13, 3					
	ρλθ′	13, 9		ρλθ′	νθ′	ΙΓ′	9-13
140	ρμ′	13, 10					
	ρμα′	13, 11					
	ρμβ′	13, 14		ρμβ′	ξ′	ΙΓ′	14-23
	ρμγ′	13, 14b					
	ρμδ′	13, 17					
	ρμε′	13, 18					
	ρμϛ′	13, 19					
	ρμζ′	13, 20					
	ρμη′	13, 21					
	ρμθ′	13, 22					
150	ρν′	13, 24		ρν′	ξα′	ΙΓ′	24-31
	ρνα′	13, 26		ρνα′	ξβ′	ΙΓ′	31-37
	ρνβ′	13, 32					
	ρνγ′	13, 33					
	ρνδ′	13, 34					
	ρνε′	13, 35					
	ρνϛ′	14, 1		[ρνϛ′]	[ξβ′]	ΙΔ′	1-2
	ρνζ′	14, 1b					
	ρνη′	14, 3		ρνη′	ξγ′	ΙΔ′	3-9
	ρνθ′	14, 8					
160	ρξ′	14, 10		ρξ′	ξδ′	ΙΔ′	10-42
	ρξα′	14, 17					
	ρξβ′	14, 19					
	ρξγ′	14, 20					
	ρξδ′	14, 21c					
	ρξε′	14, 22					
	ρξϛ′	14, 23					
	ρξζ′	14, 26					
	ρξη′	14, 27					
	ρξθ′	14, 28	*14, 27b*				
170	ρο′	14, 29					
	ροα′	14, 31					

II. Mκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant Periscopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical Periscopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical Periscopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ροβ'	14, 32					
	ρογ'	14, 32b					
	ροδ'	14, 34					
	ροε'	14, 35					
	ροϛ'	14, 36b					
	ροζ'	14, 37					
	ροη'	14, 38b					
	ροθ'	14, 39					
180	ρπ'	14, 41					
	ρπα'	14, 43		ρπα'	ξε'	ΙΔ'	43-72
	ρπβ'	14, 44					
	ρπγ'	14, 47					
	ρπδ'	14, 48					
	ρπε'	14, 50	*14, 49*				
	ρπϛ'	14, 51					
	ρπζ'	14, 53					
	ρπη'	14, 54					
	ρπθ'	14, 55					
190	ρϟ'	14, 57					
	ρϟα'	14, 60	*14, 62*				
	ρϟβ'	14, 63					
	ρϟγ'	14, 63b					
	ρϟδ'	14, 65					
	ρϟε'	14, 66					
	ρϟϛ'	14, 68b					
	ρϟζ'	14, 72					
	ρϟη'	15, 1		[ρϟη']	[ξε']	ΙΕ'	1
				ρϟη'	ξϛ'	ΙΕ'	1-15
	ρϟθ'	15, 1b					
200	σ'	15, 2					
	σα'	15, 3					
	σβ'	15, 6					
	σγ'	15, 7					
	σδ'	15, 11					
	σε'	15, 12					
	σϛ'	15, 15					
	σζ'	15, 16		σζ'	ξζ'	ΙΕ'	16-32
	ση'	15, 20		ση'	ξη'	ΙΕ'	20 (α)
	σθ'	15, 21					

II. Μκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant Periscopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical Periscopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical Periscopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
210	σι'	15, 22		[σι']	[ξη']	ΙΕ'	22 (β)
	σια'	15, 23					
	σιβ'	15, 24					
	σιγ'	15, 25		**σιγ'**	[ξη']	ΙΕ'	25 (γ)
	σιδ'	15, 26					
	σιε'	15, 27					
	σις'	15, 28					
	σιζ'	15, 29					
	σιη'	15, 31					
	σιθ'	15, 31b	*15, 32*				
220	σκ'	15, 33		**σκ'**	[ξη']	ΙΕ'	33-41 (δ)
	σκα'	15, 34					
	σκβ'	15, 36					
	σκγ'	15, 37					
	σκδ'	15, 38					
	σκε'	15, 39					
	σκς'	15, 40					
	σκζ'	15, 42				[ΙΕ']	[42]
				σκς'	ξθ'	ΙΕ'	43-47
	σκη'	15, 46					
	σκθ'	15, 47					
230	σλ'	`16, 1		**σλ'**	ο'	ΙϚ'	1-8
	σλα'	16, 2					
	σλβ'	16, 9	*16, 6*				
	σλγ'	16, 8					
	σλδ'	16, 9		**σλδ'**	οα'	ΙϚ'	9-20
	σλε'						
	σλς'						
	σλζ'						
	σλη'						
	σλθ'						
	σλμ'						
	σμα'						
	Total 233 (K: 241)			**Total** 71	Total 71		

III.	**Τετραευαγγέλιον** **Πίναξ Γ' :** Λουκᾶς						
III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB ***Amm-Eus***[1] **Concordant pericopes**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	***Current*** **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** ***Amm-Eus***[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** ***Anonym*** **Liturgical pericopes**	***Current*** **Chapters**	***Current*** **Verses**
	α'	1, 1		α'	α'	Α'	1-25 (α)
				α'	β'	Α'	5-25
				α'	γ'	Α'	24-38
			1, 35	-	γ' (2)	Α'	24-25 (α)
			1, 36	α'	δ'	Α'	39-49 (α)
						Α'	[50-55]
				α'	[δ']	Α'	56 (β)
				α'	[α']	Α'	57- 68 (β)
				-	[γ'] (2)	Α'	57- 68 (β)
						Α'	[69-75]
				α'	[α']	Α'	76 (γ)
				-	[γ'] (2)	Α'	76-80 (γ)
						Α'	[77-79]
				α'	[α']	Α'	80 (δ)
[2, 1]	β'	2, 6					
	γ'	2, 8		γ'	ε' (2)	Β'	1-20
				γ'	ς'	Β'	20-21 (α)
				γ'	ζ'	Β'	25-32
				γ'	ζ' (2)	Β'	22-40
				γ'	ζ'(3)	Β'	25-38
				γ'	[ς']	Β'	40-52 (β)
				γ'	η'	Β'	40-52
	δ'	2, 47					
	ε'	2, 48ab					
	ς'	3, 1		ς'	θ'	Γ'	1-18
	ζ'	3, 3					
	η'	3, 7					
	θ'	3, 10					
10	ι'	3, 16					
	ια'	3, 17					
	ιβ'	3, 19		ιβ'	ι'	Γ'	19-22
	ιγ'	3, 21					
	ιδ'	3, 23		ιδ'	ια'	Γ'	23-38
				[ιδ']	[ια']	Δ'	1
	ιε'	4, 1					

III. Λκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	ιϛʹ	4, 2b		ιϛʹ	ιβʹ	Δʹ	1-15
	ιζʹ	4, 14					
	ιηʹ	4, 16		ιηʹ	ιγʹ	Δʹ	16-22
	ιθʹ	4, 22		ιθʹ	ιδʹ	Δʹ	22-30
20	κʹ	4, 23					
	καʹ	4, 24					
	κβʹ	4, 25					
	κγʹ	4, 31		κγʹ	ιεʹ	Δʹ	31-36
	κδʹ	4, 32					
	κεʹ	4, 33					
						Δʹ	[37]
	κϛʹ	4, 38		κϛʹ	ιϛʹ	Δʹ	38-44
	κζʹ	4, 41					
	κηʹ	4, 42					
	κθʹ	5, 1		κθʹ	ιζʹ	Εʹ	1-11
30	λʹ	5, 4					
	λαʹ	5, 8					
	λβʹ	5, 10b					
	λγʹ	5, 12		λγʹ	ιηʹ	Εʹ	12-16
	λδʹ	5, 15					
	λεʹ	5, 16					
	λϛʹ	5, 17		λϛʹ	ιθʹ	Εʹ	17-26
	λζʹ	5, 18					
	ληʹ	5, 27		ληʹ	κʹ	Εʹ	27-32
	λθʹ	5, 29					
40	μʹ	5, 31		μʹ	καʹ	Εʹ	33-39
	μαʹ	6, 1		μαʹ	κβʹ	Ϛʹ	1-10
	μβʹ	6, 6				Ϛʹ	[11]
	μγʹ	6, 12		μγʹ	κγʹ	Ϛʹ	12-19
	μδʹ	6, 13					
	μεʹ	6, 17		μεʹ	κδʹ	Ϛʹ	17-23
	μϛʹ	6, 20					
	μζʹ	6, 21					
	μηʹ	6, 21b					
	μθʹ	6, 22					
50	νʹ	6, 24		νʹ	κεʹ	Ϛʹ	24-30
	ναʹ	6, 25	*6, 26*				

III. Λκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	νβʹ	6, 27					
	νγʹ	6, 29					
	νδʹ	6, 31		**νδʹ**	κϛʹ	Ϛʹ	31-36
	νεʹ	6, 32					
	νϛʹ	6, 37	*6, 36*	**νϛʹ**	κζʹ	Ϛʹ	37-45
	νζʹ	6, 39					
	νηʹ	6, 40					
	νθʹ	6, 41					
60	ξʹ	6, 43					
	ξαʹ	6, 44b					
	ξβʹ	6, 45					
	ξγʹ	6, 46		**ξγʹ**	κηʹ	Ϛʹ	46-49
	ξδʹ	6, 47			[κηʹ]	Zʹ	1
	ξεʹ	7, 1		**ξεʹ**	κθʹ	Zʹ	1-10
	ξϛʹ	7, 10					
	ξζʹ	7, 11		**ξζʹ**	λʹ	Zʹ	11-16
	ξηʹ	7, 17		**ξηʹ**	λαʹ	Zʹ	17-30
	ξθʹ	7, 18					
70	οʹ	7, 27					
	οαʹ	7, 28					
	οβʹ	7, 29					
	ογʹ	7, 31		**ογʹ**	λβʹ	Zʹ	31-35
	οδʹ	7, 36		**οδʹ**	λγʹ	Zʹ	36-50
	οεʹ	8, 1		**οεʹ**	λδʹ	Hʹ	1-3
							[4]
	οϛʹ	8, 4		**οϛʹ**	λεʹ	Hʹ	5-15
	οζʹ	8, 10b					
	οηʹ	8, 11					
	οθʹ	8, 16		**οθʹ**	λϛʹ	Hʹ	16-21
80	πʹ	8, 17					
	παʹ	8, 18					
	πβʹ	8, 19					
	πγʹ	8, 22		**πγʹ**	λζʹ	Hʹ	22-25
						Hʹ	[26]
				πγʹ	ληʹ	Hʹ	27-39
	πδʹ	8, 37c					
						Hʹ	[40]

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	πε′	8, 40		πε′	λθ′	Η′	41-56
	πς′	9, 1		πς′	μ′	Θ′	1-6
	πζ′	9, 3					
	πη′	9, 5					
	πθ′	9, 6					
90	ϟ′	9, 7		ϟ′	μα′	Θ′	7-11
	ϟα′	9, 10					
	ϟβ′	9, 10b					
	ϟγ′	9, 12		ϟγ′	μβ′	Θ′	12-18
	ϟδ′	9, 18		ϟδ′	μγ′	Θ′	18-22
	ϟε′	9, 21					
	ϟς′	9, 23		ϟς′	μδ′	Θ′	23-27
	ϟζ′	9, 26					
	ϟη′	9, 27		ϟη′	με′	Θ′	28-36
	ϟθ′	9, 37		ϟθ′	μς′	Θ′	37-43
100	ρ′	9, 43					
	ρα′	9, 43b		ρα′	μζ′	Θ′	44-50
	ρβ′	9, 46					
	ργ′	9, 49					
	ρδ′	9, 51					
	ρε′	9, 57		ρε′	μη′	Θ′	49-56
				ρε′	μθ′	Θ′	57-62
	ρς′	9, 61					
	ρζ′	10, 1		ρζ′	ν′	Ι′	1-15
	ρη′	10, 2					
	ρθ′	10, 3					
110	ρι′	10, 4					
	ρια′	10, 5					
	ριβ′	10, 7					
	ριγ′	10, 7d					
	ριδ′	10, 10					
	ριε′	10, 13					
	ρις′	10, 16		ρις′	να′	Ι′	16-21
	ριζ′	10, 17					
	ριη′	10, 21					
	ριθ′	10, 22		ριθ′	νβ′	Ι′	22-24
120	ρκ′	10, 23					
	ρκα′	10, 25		ρκα′	νγ′	Ι′	25-37

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ρκβʹ	10, 29		ρκβʹ	νδʹ	Iʹ	38-42 (α)
	ρκγʹ	11, 1		ρκγʹ	νεʹ	IAʹ	1-10 (13)
	ρκδʹ	11, 5					
	ρκεʹ	11, 9		ρκεʹ	νςʹ	IAʹ	9-13
	ρκςʹ	11, 14		ρκςʹ	νζʹ	IAʹ	14-23
	ρκζʹ	11, 15					
	ρκηʹ	11, 16					
	ρκθʹ	11, 17					
130	ρλʹ	11, 24		ρλʹ	νηʹ	IAʹ	23-26
	ρλαʹ	11, 27		ρλαʹ	[νδʹ]	IAʹ	27-28 (β)
	ρλβʹ	11, 29		ρλβʹ	νθʹ	IAʹ	29-33
	ρλγʹ	11, 33					
	ρλδʹ	11, 34		ρλδʹ	ξʹ	IAʹ	34-41
	ρλεʹ	11, 37					
	ρλςʹ	11, 42		ρλςʹ	ξαʹ	IAʹ	42-46
	ρλζʹ	11, 43					
	ρληʹ	11, 44					
	ρλθʹ	11, 45					
140	ρμʹ	11, 47		ρμʹ	ξβʹ	IAʹ	47-54
	ρμαʹ	11, 49					
	ρμβʹ	11, 52					
	ρμγʹ	11, 53					
[12, 1]					[ξβʹ]	IBʹ	1
	ρμδʹ	12, 1b					
	ρμεʹ	12, 2		ρμεʹ	ξγʹ	IBʹ	2-12
				ρμεʹ	ξδʹ	IBʹ	8-12
	ρμςʹ	12, 9					
	ρμζʹ	12, 10					
	ρμηʹ	12, 11					
	ρμθʹ	12, 13		ρμθʹ	ξεʹ	IBʹ	13-15 (α)
				ρμθʹ	ξςʹ	IBʹ	16-21
150	ρνʹ	12, 22		ρνʹ	[ξεʹ]	IBʹ	22-31 (β)
	ρναʹ	12, 32		ρναʹ	ξζʹ	IBʹ	32-40
	ρνβʹ	12, 33					
	ρνγʹ	12, 33b					
	ρνδʹ	12, 35					
	ρνεʹ	12, 37					

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ρνϛʹ	12, 39					
	ρνζʹ	12, 41				[ΙΒʹ]	[41]
	ρνζʹ	12, 41		**ρνζʹ**	ξηʹ	ΙΒʹ	42-48
	ρνηʹ	12, 45					
	ρνθʹ	12, 47		**ρνθʹ**	ξθʹ	ΙΒʹ	48-59
160	ρξʹ	12, 49					
	ρξαʹ	12, 54					
	ρξβʹ	12, 58					
	ρξγʹ	13, 1		**ρξγʹ**	οʹ	ΙΓʹ	1-9
	ρξδʹ	13, 6					
	ρξεʹ	13, 10	*13, 14*	**ρξεʹ**	οαʹ	ΙΓʹ	10-17
	ρξϛʹ	13, 17					
	ρξζʹ	13, 18				[ΙΓʹ]	[18]
	[ρξζʹ	13, 18]		**ρξζʹ**	οβʹ	ΙΓʹ	19-29
	ρξηʹ	13, 20					
	ρξθʹ	13, 22					
170	ροʹ	13, 23					
	ροαʹ	13, 25					
	ροβʹ	13, 28b					
	ρογʹ	13, 30				[ΙΓʹ]	[30]
	ροδʹ	13, 31		**ροδʹ**	ογʹ	ΙΓʹ	31-35
	ροεʹ	13, 34					
	ροϛʹ	14, 1		**ροϛʹ**	οδʹ	ΙΔʹ	1-11
				ροϛʹ	οεʹ	ΙΔʹ	1, 12-15
	ροζʹ	14, 3	*14, 5*				
	ροηʹ	14, 7					
	ροθʹ	14, 11					
180	ρπʹ	14, 12					
	ρπαʹ	14, 16		**ρπαʹ**	οϛʹ	ΙΔʹ	16-24
	ρπβʹ	14, 25		**ρπβʹ**	οζʹ	ΙΔʹ	25-35
	ρπγʹ	14, 28					
	ρπδʹ	14, 33					
	ρπεʹ	14, 34					
	ρπϛʹ	15, 1		**ρπϛʹ**	οηʹ	ΙΕʹ	1-10
	ρπζʹ	15, 3					
	ρπηʹ	15, 8					
	ρπθʹ	15, 10					

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*^{1} Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*^{2} Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
190	ρϟ'	15, 11		**ρϟ'**	οθ'	ΙΕ'	11-32
	ρϟα'	16, 13		**ρϟα'**	π'	ΙϚ'	1-9
				ρϟα'	πα'	ΙϚ'	10-15
	ρϟβ'	16, 14		**ρϟβ'**	πβ'	ΙϚ'	15-18 (α)
	ρϟγ'	16, 16					
	ρϟδ'	16, 17					
	ρϟε'	16, 18					
	ρϟς'	16, 19		**ρϟς'**	πγ'	ΙϚ'	19-31
	ρϟζ'	17, 1		**ρϟζ'**	[πβ']	ΙΖ'	1-4 (β)
	ρϟη'	17, 3		**ρϟη'**	πδ'	ΙΖ'	3-10
	ρϟθ'	17, 4	*17, 3b*				
200	σ'	17, 5					
						[ΙΖ']	[11]
	σα'	17, 7		**σα'**	πε'	ΙΖ'	12-19
	σβ'	17, 20		**σβ'**	πς'	ΙΖ'	20-25
	σγ'	17, 22					
	σδ'	17, 23					
	σε'	17, 24					
	σς'	17, 25					
	σζ'	17, 26		**σζ'**	πζ'	ΙΖ'	26-37 (α)
	ση'	17, 28					
	σθ'	17, 31					
210	σι'	17, 32					
	σια'	17, 33					
	σιβ'	17, 34					
	σιγ'	17, 37					
	σιδ'	18, 1		**σιδ'**		ΙΗ'	[1]
	σιδ'	18, 1		**σιδ'**	πη'	ΙΗ'	1-8
				[σιδ']	[πζ']	ΙΗ'	8 (β)
						ΙΗ'	[9]
				σιδ'	πθ'	ΙΗ'	(1) 10-14
	σιε'	18, 14b					
	σις'	18, 15		**σις'**	ϟ'	ΙΗ'	15-17 (α)
	σιζ'	18, 17					
	σιη'	18, 18		**σιη'**	ϟα'	ΙΗ'	18-27
	σιθ'	18, 22					
220	σκ'	18, 23		**[σκ']**	[ϟ']	ΙΗ'	26-30 (β)
	σκα'	18, 29					

III. Λκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	σκβ'	18, 31		σκβ'	ϟβ'	ΙΗ'	31-34
	σκγ'	18, 34					
	σκδ'	18, 35		[σκδ']	ϟγ'	ΙΗ'	35-43
	σκε'	19, 1		σκε'	ϟδ'	ΙΘ'	1-10
	σκς'	19, 10					
	σκζ'	19, 11				[ΙΘ']	[11]
	σκη'	19, 12		σκη'	ϟε'	ΙΘ'	12-28
	σκθ'	19, 13					
230	σλ'	19, 26					
	σλα'	19, 27					
	σλβ'	19, 28		σλβ'	ϟς'	ΙΘ'	29-40 (α)
	σλγ'	19, 32					
	σλδ'	19, 37		σλδ'	ϟζ'	ΙΘ'	37-44
	σλε'	19, 39					
	σλς'	19, 41					
	σλζ'	19, 44b					
	σλη'	19, 45		σλη'	ϟη'	ΙΘ'	45-48
	σλθ'	19, 47					
240	σμ'	20, 1		σμ'	ϟθ'	Κ'	1-8
	σμα'	20, 9		σμα'	ρ'	Κ'	9-18
	σμβ'	20, 19		σμβ'	ρα'	Κ'	19-26
	σμγ'	20, 20					
	σμδ'	20, 40		σλδ'	ρβ'	Κ'	27-44
	σμε'	20, 41					
	σμς'	20, 45				[Κ']	[45]
	σμς'	20, 45		σμς'	ργ'	Κ'	46-47
	σμζ'	20, 47		[σμζ']		ΚΙ'	1-4
[21, 1]	σμη	21, 5		σμη'	ρδ'	ΚΙ'	5-8 (α)
	σμθ'	21, 7		σμθ'	ρε'	ΚΙ'	8-9 (α)
				[σμθ']	[ρδ']	ΚΙ'	10-11 (β)
250	σν'	21, 12		σν'	ρς'		
				σν'	ρς'	ΚΙ'	12-19
	σνα'	21, 14					
	σνβ'	21, 20		σνβ'	[ρδ']	ΚΙ'	20-24 (γ)
	σνγ'	21, 21					
	σνδ'	21, 23					

III. Λκ.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	σνε′	21, 23b					
	σνς′	21, 24					
	σνζ′	21, 25		**σνζ′**	[ρε′]	ΚΙ′	25-27 (β)
	σνη′	21, 27		**σνη′**	ρζ′	ΚΙ′	28-33
	σνθ′	21, 34		**σνθ′**	[ρε′]	ΚΙ′	33-36 (γ)
				σνθ′	ρη′	ΚΙ′	37-38
260	σξ′	22, 1		**[σξ′]**	[ρη′]	ΚΒ′	1-8
	σξα′	22, 2					
	σξβ′	22, 3					
	σξγ′	22, 4		**σξγ′**	[ϟς′]	ΚΒ′	7-39 (β)
	σξδ′	22, 15	*22, 15*				
	σξε′	22, 16					
	σξς′	22, 19					
	σξζ′	22, 20					
	σξη′	22, 21					
	σξθ′	22, 23					
270	σο′	22, 24					
	σοα′	22, 27					
	σοβ′	22, 30b					
	σογ′	22, 31					
	σοδ′	22, 32b					
	σοε′	22, 33					
	σος′	22, 35					
	σοζ′	22, 37					
	σοη′	22, 38					
	σοθ′	22, 39		**σοθ′**	ρθ′	ΚΒ′	39-42
280	σπ′	22, 40					
	σπα′	22, 41					
	σπβ′	22, 42b					
	σπγ′	22, 43				ΚΒ′	[43-44]
	σπδ′	22, 45			[ρθ′]	ΚΒ′	45-71
	σπε′	22, 47					
	σπς′	22, 48	*22, 47b*				
	σπζ′	22, 49					
	σπη′	22, 51c					
	σπθ′	22, 52					

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
290	σϟ'	22, 54					
	σϟα'	22, 54b					
	σϟβ'	22, 57					
	σϟγ'	22, 61					
	σϟδ'	22, 63					
	σϟε'	22, 66					
	σϟς'	22, 67					
	σϟζ'	22, 69					
	σϟη'	22, 70					
	σϟθ'	22, 71					
300	τ'	23, 1		[τ']	[ρθ']	ΚΓ'	1
	τα'	23, 2		**τα'**	ρι'	ΚΓ'	1-31 (α)
	τβ'	23, 3					
	τγ'	23, 4					
	τδ'	23, 5					
	τε'	23, 10					
	τς'	23, 11					
	τζ'	23, 13					
	τη'	23, 15					
	τθ'	23, 16					
310	τι'	23, 18					
	τια'	23, 20					
	τιβ'	23, 21					
	τιγ'	23, 23					
	τιδ'	23, 24					
	τιε'	23, 26					
	τις'	23, 27					
	τιζ'	23, 32		**τιζ'**	ρια'	ΚΓ'	32-49
	τιη'	23, 33		**[τιη']**	[ρι']	ΚΓ'	33 (β)
	τιθ'	23, 33ab					
320	τκ'	23, 34					
	τκα'	23, 34b					
	τκβ'	23, 35b					
	τκγ'	23, 36					
	τκδ'	23, 38					
	τκε'	23, 39					
	τκς'	23, 40					

III. Λκ.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	τκζ'	23, 44		**τκζ'**	[ρι']	ΚΓ'	44-56 (γ)
	τκη'	23, 45b					
	τκθ'	23, 46					
330	τλ'	23, 47					
	τλα'	23, 48					
	τλβ'	23, 50					
	τλγ'	23, 53					
	τλδ'	23, 54					
	τλε'	23, 56					
	τλς'	24, 1		**τλς'**	ριβ'	ΚΔ'	1-12
	τλζ'	24, 5					
	τλη'	24, 9					
	τλθ'	24, 10		**τλθ'**	ριγ'	ΚΔ'	12-35
340	τμ'	24, 36		**τλθ'**	ριδ'	ΚΔ'	36-53
	τμα'	24, 41					
	τμβ'	24, 42					
	Total **342**			**Total** **114**	Total 114		

IV.	Τετραευαγγέλιον **Πίναξ Δ' :** Ἰωάννης

IV. Ιω.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	α'	1, 1		**α'**	α'	Α'	1-17
	β'	1, 6					
	γ'	1, 9					
	δ'	1, 10	*1, 11*				
	ε'	1, 14					
	ς'	1, 15					
	ζ'	1, 16					

IV. Iω.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	η′	1, 18		η′	β′	Α′	18-28
	θ′	1, 19					
10	ι′	1, 23					
	ια′	1, 24					
	ιβ′	1, 26					
	ιγ′	1, 28					
	ιδ′	1, 30		ιδ′	γ′	Α′	29-34
	ιε′	1, 32					
	ις′	1, 35		ις′	δ′	Α′	35-43
	ιζ′	1, 42	*1, 41*				
	ιη′	1, 44	*1, 43*	ιη′	ε′	Α′	44-52
				ιη′	ς′	Β′	1-11
[2, 1]	ιθ′	2, 12		ιθ′	ζ′	Β′	12-22
20	κ′	2, 13					
	κα′	2, 14					
	κβ′	2, 17					
	κγ′	2, 18					
						[Β′]	[23-25]
	κδ′	2, 19		κδ′	η′	Γ′	1-15
				κδ′	θ′	Γ′	13-17
				κδ′	ι′	Γ′	16-21
[3, 1]	κε′	3, 23		κε′	ια′	Γ′	22-33
	κς′	3, 24					
	κζ′	3, 25					
	κη′	3, 28					
	κθ′	3, 29					
30	λ′	3, 35				[Γ′]	[34-36]
	λα′	3, 36					
[4, 1]	λβ′	4, 3				[Δ′	1-4]
	λγ′	4, 4		λγ′	ιβ′	Δ′	5-42
	λδ′	4, 43				[Δ′]	[43-45]
	λε′	4, 44					
	λς′	4, 45					
	λζ′	4, 46b		λζ′	ιγ′	Δ′	46-54
	λη′	5, 1		λη′	ιδ′	Ε′	1-15

IV. Iω.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	λθ′	5, 11					
						E′	[16]
40	μ′	5, 13b		**μ′**	ιε′	E′	17-24
	μα′	5, 24		**μα′**	ις′	E′	24-30
	μβ′	5, 30c		**μβ′**	ιζ′	E′	30-47
	μγ′	5, 31					
	μδ′	5, 37b					
	με′	5, 38					
	μς′	6, 1			[ιζ′]	Ϛ′	1-2
	μζ′	6, 3				[Ϛ′]	[3-4]
	μη′	6, 4					
	μθ′	6, 5		**μθ′**	ιη′	Ϛ′	5-14
50	ν′	6, 14		**ν′**	ιθ′	Ϛ′	14-27
	να′	6, 15b					
	νβ′	6, 22		**νβ′**	κ′	Ϛ′	27-33
	νγ′	6, 30					
	νδ′	6, 31					
						[Ϛ′]	[34]
	νε′	6, 35		**νε′**	κα′	Ϛ′	35-39
	νς′	6, 37	*6, 35c*				
	νζ′	6, 38					
	νη′	6, 39		**νη′**	κβ′	Ϛ′	40-44
	νθ′	6, 41					
60	ξ′	6, 43					
	ξα′	6, 46					
						[Ϛ′]	[45-47]
	ξβ′	6, 47		**ξβ′**	κγ′	Ϛ′	48-54, 55
	ξγ′	6, 48					
	ξδ′	6, 49					
	ξε′	6, 51					
	ξς′	6, 52					
	ξζ′	6, 53	*6, 55*				
	ξη′	6, 56					
	ξθ′	6, 62		**ξθ′**	κδ′	Ϛ′	56-69

IV. Iω.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
70	ο'	6, 63					
	οα'	6, 63b					
	οβ'	6, 64b					
	ογ'	6, 65					
	οδ'	6, 68					
						ϛ'	[70-71]
	οε'	6, 70		οε'	κε'	Z'	1-13
				οε'	κϛ'	Z'	14-30
[7, 1]	οϛ'	7, 28					
	οζ'	7, 30					
	οη'	7, 31				[Z']	[31-36]
	οθ'	7, 32b					
80	π'	7, 33					
	πα'	7, 34					
	πβ'	7, 40		πβ'	κζ'	Z'	37- 52 α)
	πγ'	7, 42b	*7, 41b*				
	πδ'	7, 43					
	πε'	7, 44					
	πϛ'	7, 45					
						[Z']	[53]
						[H'	1-2]
				x	κη'	H'	3-11
				πβ'	[κζ']	H'	12 (β)
				πϛ'	κθ'	H'	12-20
[8, 1]	πζ'	8, 19b					
	πη'	8, 20					
[9, 1]	πθ'	8, 21		πθ'	λ'	H'	21-30
				πθ'	λα'	H'	31-42
				πθ'	λβ'	H'	42-51
				πθ'	λγ'	H'	51-59
				πθ'	λδ'	Θ'	1-38
				πθ'	[λδ']	I'	1-9
				πθ'	λε'	I'	39-41
				πθ'	[λε']	I'	1-9
				πθ'	λϛ'	I'	9-16

IV. Iω.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG**[27]**)**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
90 [10, 1]	ϟ'	10, 15					
	ϟα'	10, 15b					
	ϟβ'	10, 16		**ϟβ'**	λζ'	I'	17-28a
				ϟβ'	λη'	I'	27-38
	ϟγ'	10, 39		**ϟγ'**	λη'	I'	39-42
	ϟδ'	10, 41		**ϟδ'**	λθ'	IA'	1-45
						[IA']	[46]
				ϟδ'	μ'	IA'	47-54
[11, 1]	ϟε'	11, 53					
	ϟς'	11, 55				[IA']	[55-57]
	ϟζ'	11, 55b		**ϟζ'**	μα'	IB'	1-18
[12, 1]	ϟη'	12, 2					
	ϟθ'	12, 9					
100	ρ'	12, 12					
	ρα'	12, 14					
	ρβ'	12, 16		**ρβ'**	μβ'	IB'	19-36
				x	μβ'	IB'	17-50
	ργ'	12, 23					
	ρδ'	12, 24					
	ρε'	12, 25					
	ρς'	12, 26					
	ρζ'	12, 27	*12, 26b*				
	ρη'	12, 27c		**ρη'**	μγ'	IB'	36-47
	ρθ'	12, 39					
110	ρι'	12, 41					
	ρια'	12, 44					
	ριβ'	12, 46					
[13, 1]	ριγ'	13, 2				[IΓ'	1-2]
	ριδ'	13, 3		**ριδ'**	μδ'	IΓ'	3-11
				ριδ'	x	IΓ'	3-17
	ριε'	13, 3b		**ριε'**	με'	IΓ'	12-17
	ρις'	13, 13					
	ριζ'	13, 14					

IV. Iω.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	ριη'	13, 16					
	ριθ'	13, 18				[ΙΓ']	[18-30]
120	ρκ'	13, 20					
	ρκα'	13, 21					
	ρκβ'	13, 22					
	ρκγ'	13, 23					
	ρκδ'	13, 26b					
	ρκε'	13, 27b		ρκε'	μς'	ΙΓ'	31-38
	ρκς'	13, 36					
	ρκζ'	14, 1		ρκζ'	μζ'	ΙΔ'	1-11
				ρκζ'	μζ'	ΙΔ'	10-21 (α)
	ρκη'	14, 13		ρκη'	μη'	ΙΔ'	21-24 (β)
	ρκθ'	14, 21bc		[ρκε']	[μς']	ΙΔ'	25-26
130	ρλ'	14, 22					
	ρλα'	14, 24b					
	ρλβ'	14, 26		ρλβ'	μθ'	ΙΔ'	27-31
[15, 1]	ρλγ'	15, 7		-	ν'	ΙΕ'	1-7
	ρλδ'	15, 8		[ρκε']	να'	ΙΕ'	8-16
	ρλε'	15, 13					
	ρλς'	15, 14					
	ρλζ'	15, 16c					
	ρλη'	15, 17		[ρκε']	νβ'	ΙΕ'	17-27
	ρλθ'	15, 20					
140	ρμ'	15, 20b					
	ρμα'	15, 21					
	ρμβ'	15, 21b					
	ρμγ'	15, 22					
	ρμδ'	15, 23					
	ρμε'	15, 24					
[16, 1]				[ρκε']	[νβ']	ΙϚ'	1
	ρμς'	16, 2b		ρμς'	νγ'	ΙϚ'	2-13a
	ρμζ'	16, 4b		[ρκε']	[μς']	ΙϚ'	13b-14
	ρμη'	16, 15					
	ρμθ'	16, 15b					
150	ρν'	16, 23b		ρν'	νδ'	ΙϚ'	15-23
	ρνα'	16, 25					

IV. Ιω.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*^{1} **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*^{2} **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	ρνβʹ	16, 31					
	ρνγʹ	16, 33		ρνγʹ	νεʹ	ΙϚʹ	23-33a
				ρνγʹ	νςʹ	ΙΖʹ	1-13
				[ρκεʹ]	[μςʹ]	ΙΖʹ	14-17
				ρνγʹ	νζʹ	ΙΖʹ	18-26
[17, 1]	ρνδʹ	17, 25					
	ρνεʹ	17, 25b					
	ρνςʹ	18, 1		[ρκεʹ]	[μςʹ]	ΙΗʹ	1
				ρνςʹ	νηʹ	ΙΗʹ	1-28
	ρνζʹ	18, 2					
	ρνηʹ	18, 3					
	ρνθʹ	18, 4					
160	ρξʹ	18, 10					
	ρξαʹ	18, 11	*18, 11c*				
	ρξβʹ	18, 12					
	ρξγʹ	18, 13					
	ρξδʹ	18, 15					
	ρξεʹ	18, 15b					
	ρξςʹ	18, 16					
	ρξζʹ	18, 16b					
	ρξηʹ	18, 17					
	ρξθʹ	18, 18					
170	ροʹ	18, 20					
	ροαʹ	18, 21					
[17, 1]	ροβʹ	18, 22					
	ρογʹ	18, 23					
	ροδʹ	18, 24					
	ροεʹ	18, 25					
	ροςʹ	18, 28		ροςʹ	νθʹ	ΙΗʹ	28-40
				ροςʹ	*x*	ΙΘʹ	1-16
	ροζʹ	18, 28c					
	ροηʹ	18, 33					
	ροθʹ	18, 34					
180	ρπʹ	18, 37					
	ρπαʹ	18, 37c					
	ρπβʹ	18, 38b					
	ρπγʹ	18, 39					
	ρπδʹ	18, 40					

IV. Iω.	1α	1β	1γ	2	3α	3β	3γ
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] Concordant pericopes	*Current* Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)	*Current* Ch. / vs. (NTG[27])	MB (A) *Amm-Eus*[2] Liturgical pericopes	MB (B) *Anonym* Liturgical pericopes	*Current* Chapters	*Current* Verses
	ρπε'	19, 1					
	ρπς'	19, 4					
	ρπζ'	19, 5					
	ρπη'	19, 6					
	ρπθ'	19, 6bα		**ρπθ'**	ξ'	ΙΘ'	6-30
190	ρϟ'	19, 6bβ					
	ρϟα'	19, 7					
	ρϟβ'	19, 8					
	ρϟγ'	19, 10					
	ρϟδ'	19, 15					
	ρϟε'	19, 15bα					
	ρϟς'	19, 16					
	ρϟζ'	19, 16b					
	ρϟη'	19, 18b					
	ρϟθ'	19, 19					
200	σ'	19, 20					
	σα'	19, 23		**σα'**	ξα'	ΙΘ'	25-37
	σβ'	19, 24d					
	σγ'	19, 28					
	σδ'	19, 30					
	σε'	19, 32	*19, 31*				
	σς'	19, 38		**σς'**	ξβ'	ΙΘ'	38-42
	σζ'	19, 39					
	ση'	19, 40					
	σθ'	20, 1		**σθ'**	ξγ'	Κ'	1-10
210	σι'	20, 2					
	σια'	20, 11		[**σια'**]x	ξδ'	Κ'	11-18
	σιβ'	20, 13					
	σιγ'	20, 19		**σιγ'**	ξε'	Κ'	19-31
	σιδ'	20, 20b					
	σιε'	20, 23					
	σις'	20, 24					
	σιζ'	20, 26					
	σιη'	20, 28					
	σιθ'	21, 1		**σιθ'**	ξς'	ΚΙ'	1-14
220	σκ'	21, 7					
	σκα'	21, 9					

IV. Iω.	**1α**	**1β**	**1γ**	**2**	**3α**	**3β**	**3γ**
	EB *Amm-Eus*[1] **Concordant pericopes**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (Von Soden)**	*Current* **Ch. / vs. (NTG^{27})**	**MB (A)** *Amm-Eus*[2] **Liturgical pericopes**	**MB (B)** *Anonym* **Liturgical pericopes**	*Current* **Chapters**	*Current* **Verses**
	σκβʹ	21, 11					
	σκγʹ	21, 12					
	σκδʹ	21, 12bα					
	σκεʹ	21, 13		**σκεʹ**	ξζʹ	KIʹ	14-25
	σκϛʹ	21, 14					
	σκζʹ	21, 15αβ					
	σκηʹ	21, 16					
	σκθʹ	21, 16cα					
230	σλʹ	21, 17					
	σλαʹ	21, 17d					
	σλβʹ	21, 18					
	Total **232**			**Total** **67**	Total 67		

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The paschal spiral and different types of Byzantine and Slavonic lectionaries

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Abstract
This paper analyzes the lectionary system of Byzantine and Slavonic manuscripts of the Gospel. In the past, the homogeneity of Byzantine lectionaries has been underlined. It is suggested that different types and classes of lectionaries have to be distinguished. Apparently, these types go back to the time the Byzantine lectionary system was formed. The author suggests using an image of a spiral (the paschal spiral) and gives an explanation of some irregularities of additional readings in manuscripts. The detailed analysis of different types of lectionaries (Alpha, Beta, Kappa and Lambda) is given. The study opens the possibility for a better classification of Byzantine lectionaries.

1. Introduction. The lectionary and its components

Books that are commonly designated as Byzantine lectionaries of New Testament corpora contain two main parts: the Synaxarion that indicates Gospel and Apostolos (Acts and the Epistles) readings for the movable cycle of days and feasts, and the Menologion that gives readings for the fixed cycle[1]. Besides these two main parts two other clearly defined series of lessons are indicated, the eleven Resurrection Gospels for the Morning service and a series of lessons for specific saints and occasions[2]. Usually lectionaries are structured as follows:

I. Synaxarion:
   - **Gospel of John:** Pascha – Pentecost (N'), *hebdomades* (πάσχα – πεντηκοστή, ἑβδομάδες). This contains the lections from Pascha (the first reading of the 'Pashal year': John 1. 1–17) until Pentecost. There are readings for each day of the week, including weekdays – *hebdomades* (ἑβδομάδες). **Gospel of Matthew:** kyr.1 – kyr.17. (*kyriake*, κυριακή – Sunday), the lections from the first Saturday/Sunday after Pentecost until the 17th week/Sunday. Mark is read from the twelfth week on weekdays and Matthew only on Saturday and Sunday[3].
   - **Gospel of Luke:** kyr.1 – *kyr. tyrofagou* (κυριακή τῆς τυροφάγου – the last week before Great Lent, Carnival), the lections from the Sunday after the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (14th September)[4] until Cheese Fare Week (in Slavonic: *maslenitsa*). From the thirteenth week Mark is read on weekdays and Luke on Saturdays and Sundays.

[1] S. M. Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition. Towards a codico-liturgical approach to the Byzantine manuscripts*, Tilburg, 2008, p. 75.

[2] E. C. Colwell, 'The Contents of the Gospel Lectionary', in *Prolegomena to the Study of the lectionary text of the Gospels* (Studies in the lectionary text of the Greek New Testament, vol. I) ed. by E. C Colwell and D. W. Riddle. Chicago, 1933, pp. 1–5.

[3] D. W. Riddle, 'The character of the lectionary text of Mark in the week-days of Matthew and Luke', in *Prolegomena to the Study of the lectionary text of the Gospels* (Studies in the lectionary text of the Greek New Testament, vol. I), ed. by E. C Colwell and D. W. Riddle, Chicago, 1933, pp. 21-42; esp. p. 22.

[4] All dates are given according to the Byzantine calendar, i.e., the Julian 'Old style' calendar.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 117-152.

 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101391

- *pannykhides* (εὐαγγέλια εἰς τὰς παννυχίδας, the Vespers), the lessons used in the vigils for the weekdays of the first week of Great Lent.
- **Gospel of Mark:** *nesteion* (εὐαγγέλια τῶν νηστειῶν), (Nesteia – the Fast), the lessons read on Saturdays and Sundays during Great Lent.
- *sab. laz. kyr. baion* (σάββατον τοῦ λαζάρου, κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων) – Saturday of St. Lazarus and Palm Sunday.
- *meg. hebd.* 2 – 5 (εὐαγγέλια τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης ἑβδομάδος). The lessons read during the first four days of the week before Pascha, Passion Week (the 'Holy and Great Days').
- *pathon* (παθῶν) – the Gospels read on Holy Friday – the Twelve Passion Gospels.
- *horon* (ὡρῶν) – the Gospels of Hours (the First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours), read on Holy Friday.
- *paraskeues* (τῆς μεγάλης παρασκευῆς) – Great Friday.

II. Menologion:
- *menol.* – Menologion (μηνολόγιον), the lessons of immovable feasts and the commemoration of saints. The Menologion follows the fixed, civil calendar (indiction)[5] beginning with 1st September and closing with 31st August.

III. Other lections:
- *diaf. – eis diaphoras mnemas* (εὐαγγέλια εἰς διαφόρας μνήμας); the Gospel on different occasions and selective lessons for saints.
- *heoth. – heothina* (ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα), the Eleven Morning Gospels. In some manuscripts this part may be located before the Menologion or even in the beginning of the Lectionary, as for example in the Slavonic Typographensis Gospel. A similar order for these readings can be found in some printed editions.

The classification of lectionaries is based on the first part of the manuscript called the Synaxarion. There are two major groups of lectionaries and two small[6]:

(a) The complete (full) lectionary has lessons for all Saturdays & Sundays and the weekdays (the total week – *hebdomades* / ἑβδομάδες) for the whole year with the exception of the weekdays of Great Lent.
(b) The second type of the lectionary (Slavic scholars prefer to call this type of lectionary 'short'[7]) has lessons for all days of the period from Easter to Pentecost, but only those for Saturdays and Sundays during the rest of the year.

A small number of lectionaries supply only the Saturday and Sunday (*sabbatokuriakai*) lessons as well as Holy Week, or only Sundays.

Among Slavic scholars the name used for a lectionary written in Old Church Slavonic is *aprakos* (used for both singular and plural). The word is derived from the Greek ἄπρακτοι ἡμέραι – non-working days, for the simple reason that if there is a service in church according to the liturgical calendar it means the

[5] B. M. Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament' [Sonderdruck aus: Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 5], in *Die alten Ubersetzungen des Neuen Testamentes, die Kirchenvaterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. by. K. Aland, Berlin-New York, 1972, pp. 479-497, esp. p. 480.

[6] Or three groups, cf., 'Er lassen sich nunmehr drei Klassen der Lektionare feststellen: 1. Sonntagslektionare; 2. Kurzes Lektionar; 3. Langes Lektionar.' – in: C. Hannick, 'Das Neue Testament in altkirchenslavischer Sprache; der gegenwartige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung fur die griechische Textgeschichte', in *Die alten Ubersetzungen des Neuen Testamentes, die Kirchenvaterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. by K. Aland, Berlin-New York, 1972, pp. 403-435, esp pp. 419-420.

[7] M. Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2001, pp. 33–35.

day is a non-working one, (compare with the Old Slavonic word for Sunday: *nedelia* which comes from *ne-delat*: not-doing)[8]. The full lectionary is called (*polnyj*) *aprakos* and the concise one (*kratkij*) *aprakos*. There is third type of aprakos called the super-short (*sverh-kratkij*) or Sunday-*aprakos*[9].

Kurt Aland, who for many years headed the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF), developed a system of symbols which had been suggested for lectionaries as early as the beginning of the twentieth century by Caspar R. Gregory, who used abbreviations for the Gospel lectionary (*l* = Evl Evangelium) and the Apostolos lectionary (l^a = Apl Apostel) and for the combined Gospel and the Apostolos lectionary l^{+a} = Apl-Evl. When describing a Gospel lectionary Gregory also used the following abbreviations: ἐ ἑβδ = ἑβδομάδες / *hebdomades*; σ.-κ. = σαββατοκυριακαὶ / *sabbatokuriakai* and κυρ = κυριακή[10]. Kurt Aland is the author of the famous concise catalogue of New Testament manuscripts – *Kurzgefaßte Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. In the *Liste* we see the ideas of Gregory being applied to the designation of lectionary manuscripts.

However, since Aland was primarily interested in ancient manuscripts rather than lectionaries, he never carried out a detailed classification of the latter. (Aland: 'Lectionaries are not related simply to the history of the New Testament text: they are essentially far more closely related to the history of the liturgy. They are a product of liturgical needs'[11]).

Anyone reading Aland's catalogue does not know what particular characteristics one or another lectionary contains within its cycles (John, Matthew, Luke, Mark). The sign ℓe is used for all lectionaries of this type, regardless of the various characteristics within this cycle. Gregory's catalogue[12] is quite different: he gives a separate description for each manuscript. For example, manuscript ℓ 292 is described in the *Kurzgefaßte Liste* in the following way[13]:

> 'Nr: ℓ 292, Inhalt: U-ℓe, Jh: IX, Beschr. stoff: pergament, Blattzahl: 277, Spalten: 2, Zeilen: 24, Format: 35,5 x 26,5, Aufbewahrunsort: Carpentras, Bibl. munic. 10 (L 11)'.

Gregory gives a more detailed description of the same manuscript[14]:

> '292. carp^{ev} : Carpentras, Stadtbibl. 11; 10 Jhdt, 35,8x27; Perg, UNC, 227 Bl, 2 Sp, 24 Z, rote Mus: Evl (Jo ἐ Mt ἐ bis κυρ. θ' dann σ-κ, Lk ἐ)'.

If one wants to know the contents of this manuscript, the information received from Aland: U-ℓe, is that it is an Uncial-lectionary, with readings for the whole year including weekdays. The information given by Gregory is the following: Evl (Jo ἐ Mt ἐ bis κυρ. θ' dann σ-κ, Lk ἐ). It is a lectionary that gives lessons for the entire Johannine period, and the whole Lucan period, but in the Matthean period the complete readings are only up to the ninth Sunday and then only for Saturday-Sunday (*sabbatokuriakai*

[8] A. A. Alexeev, in Russian: Алексеев А. А., Библия в богослужении. Византийско–славянский лекционарий. (*The Bible in Orthodox Worship: Byzantine-Slavonic Lectionaries*.), С–Петербург (St. Petersburg), 2008, p. 28.

[9] B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 427-428. L. P. Žukovskaia, in Russian: Л. П. Жуковская, Текстология и язык древнейших славянских памятников. // Tekstologia i jazyk drevnejshikh slavianskikh pamjatnikov. (*Textology and Language of Ancient Slavonic manuscripts*.), Moscow, 1976, p. 226.

[10] See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1900-1909, I 1900, pp. 336-340, esp. pp. 339-340. Cf. Abbreviations in Gregory III 1909, pp. 1378-1381.

[11] K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,* Second Edition, trans. by E. F. Rhodes, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1989, p. 168.

[12] C. R. Gregory 1900.

[13] K. Aland (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage,* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 1), Berlin-New York, 1994, p. 236.

[14] C. R. Gregory 1900, p. 412.

σαββατοκυριακαί). Therefore it is only from Gregory's catalogue that one may learn that this manuscript in fact does not contain readings for the whole year and not for all four periods of the synaxarion.

As a result, we can say that of course Aland was correct to name his work 'a concise list of New Testament manuscripts' and not a full catalogue. A catalogue of local libraries must give the reader more information about each particular manuscript and offer more detailed classification. Although there are very detailed catalogues (for instance the Vienna catalogue of Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten/Wolfgang Lackner and Christian Hannick[15]), many of the local catalogues lack particular data concerning the exact structure and arrangement of the lectionaries. Below I am going to demonstrate that to create a complete description, it is necessary to take into account the existence of different types of lectionaries, which are united now under the symbol ℓe.

In this contribution I shall not deal with lectionaries that have readings from the Apostles (ℓ^{+a} according to Gregory-Aland classification). The reading system of the Apostles (ℓ^{a}) is based on a different principle than the Gospel readings. It is not so complicated and it does not contain such 'borders' between periods (Jn, Mt, Lk, Mk) as in the Gospel readings. I mean that the Apostle readings are not dependent on the 'Lucan jump' (see below).

Now we should pay attention to the definition of lectionaries. According to Kurt and Barbara Aland, lectionary manuscripts are 'manuscripts in which the texts of the New Testament books are divided into separate pericopes, arranged according to their sequence as lessons appointed for the church year'[16]. A similar definition can be found in an article by Carroll D. Osburn: 'Lectionary manuscripts are those in which the text of the NT is divided into separate pericopes, rearranged according to the fixed order in which they are read as lessons for the church on particular days during the year'[17].

If one wants to strictly follow this definition of the term 'lectionary', this implies that it does not include the group of manuscripts containing the Tetraevangelion, that is those that offer a continuous text of the Four Gospels following the traditional order: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. In fact, these manuscripts are not identified as lectionaries by Kurt and Barbara Aland. However, quite a few of these manuscripts, contain an apparatus in supplement that gives precise instruction on what occasion which part of which Gospel must be read in church. For the same purpose this continuous text is often equipped with notes either in the text or in the margin that designate the beginning (αρ [χ], from ἀρχή) and the end (τε [λ], from τέλος) of the reading. For example, the ninth century majuscule (uncial[18]) Y 034 Codex Macedoniensis (e) from Cambridge University Library (Add. 6594) played a very special role in the study of lectionaries and their history. I shall give a description of this majuscule later.

It is important to note that, although these manuscripts of the Tetraevangelion do not fit into the category of lectionaries as defined by Aland and others, they were used in the liturgy and intended for liturgical use. It is interesting to note that Gregory when defining the term *Leserbücher* ('*Griechische Liturgische Bücher*') is referring in fact to the lectionary[19]. However, when he begins a description of the

[15] H. Hunger, W. Lackner, C. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 3/3, Codices theologici 201–337, Wien, 1992. Unfortunately in some aspects even this catalogue is also 'not perfect'. For example, in description of a Tetraevangelion (and Praxapostolos) (p. 336, manuscript *Evangelion und Praxapostolos* 300) the Synaxarion is only mentioned, but to what type it belongs is not known.

[16] K. Aland and B. Aland 1989, p. 163.

[17] C. D. Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the NT' in *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*: *Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, *A Volume in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. by B. Ehrman, M. Holmes, Grand Rapids, 1995, pp. 61-74.

[18] David C. Parker in his article, 'The Majuscule manuscripts of the NT', in *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*: *Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, *A Volume in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. by B. Ehrman, M. Holmes, Grand Rapids, 1995, p. 22, and in the recent book D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts,* Cambridge, 2008, p. 53 suggests that one should not to use the word 'uncial' for this class of manuscripts. However, it is widely used by the United Bible Societies (K. Aland, M. Black and others (eds), *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth edition, United Bible Society, 1993).

[19] C. R. Gregory I 1900, p. 329.

Synaxarion, he refers not only to the lectionary, but also to the Tetraevangelion manuscripts that contain liturgical instructions[20]. The manuscipts of the Tetraevangelion are therefore not only highly relevant to the study of the history of the NT texts, but also for research on their liturgical use[21].

2. The number of readings in the Synaxarion. The composition of its constituent parts

As I mentioned above 'the complete lectionary has the lessons for all Saturdays, Sundays and weekdays for the whole year with the exception of the weekdays of Great Lent' (Table 1.). This at first sight is a rather simple statement that needs clarification. How many days during one year can a Gospel lection be prescribed by the Church? 365? No, one must subtract not only the weekdays of Great Lent but also two days of Cheese Fare (Carnival) week from the total number since there is no liturgy on Wednesday or Friday during this week. On the basis of this calculation, one can agree with Anatoly Alexeev who concludes: 'the complete lectionary has the liturgical lessons for all days of the church year except 32 days, namely for weekdays during Great Lent and also the Wednesday and Friday of Cheese Fare week'[22]. However, this conclusion only holds true for the Slavonic tradition. The Greek tradition also has readings during the first week of Great Lent, when the *pannykhides* (εὐαγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς τὰς παννυχίδας), are read: Monday – Luke 21. 8-26; Tuesday – Matthew 6. 1-13; Wednesday – Mark 11. 22-26 and Matthew 7. 7-8 (sic!); Thursday – Matthew 7. 7-11; Friday – John 15. 1-7.

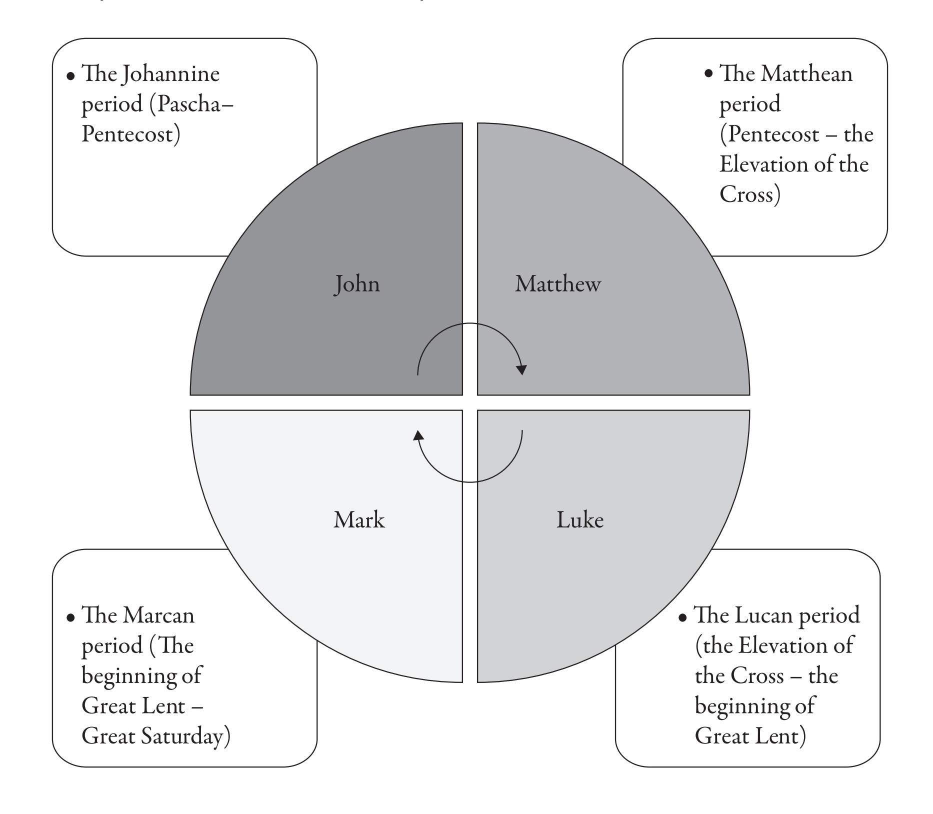


Table 1

[20] C. R. Gregory 1900, pp. 343. For instance manuscripts: Evv 99, Evv 651, Evv 901 etc.

[21] A. A. Alexeev, in Russian: Алексеев А. А., *Текстология Славянской Библии* (The Textology of the Slavonic Bible), С–Петербург (St. Petersburg), 1999, pp. 149-150. Also in M. Garzaniti 2001, pp. 29–35. Also in C. Hannick 1972, pp. 416-417.

[22] A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 29.

There is one more peculiarity to the modern Greek tradition; the absence of Gospel readings during the last week of the Matthean period, that is the weekdays of the 17th week. This fact needs to be clarified. The problem is that this lack of readings is characteristic of quite a few manuscripts. Moreover, not only Byzantine (Greek) manuscripts but also some Slavonic manuscripts have preserved the same peculiarity. One of them is the so-called Mstislav Gospel-*aprakos*. It means that Slavonic manuscripts of the NT follow the Byzantine tradition and must be considered as manuscripts in the Byzantine tradition.

For clarification of this fact we need to take into account that the pericope which is read on the Sunday of the 17th week of the Matthean period, that is the story of the Canaanite woman (Matthew 15. 21–28), can be found sometimes not only at the end of the Matthean period but at the end of the Lucan period as well[23]. In fact, the explanation of this peculiarity is given in the footnote to the modern Greek edition of the lectionary:

> 'It should be noted that (most times) the present Gospel lection about the Canaanite woman is not to be read in the order of Sundays according to the Gospel of Matthew, unless Easter (Pascha) falls on the 22nd March. However, it is often read before the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee, when the Meat-eating period is long, which means that the coming Easter is (very) late and, consequently, one week during the Lucan period is missing'[24].

This rule sounds enigmatic because it is not self-evident how the last Sunday of the Matthean period is related to Pascha and to the preparation weeks before Great Lent. However, this relationship is really important as it signifies that the lectionary system is far from being homogeneous. Different parts of the lectionary system are dependent on different rules.

In practice the lectionary system depends on the duration of the Paschal year (from one Pascha to Pascha of the next year). If we want to arrange the Gospel reading for the current year, that is to say to make a time-table of the readings, we must know not only the date of Pascha of that year, but also the date of Pascha for the next year. It is not enough to have a standard lectionary, we must have Computus (calculation of the date of Easter) as well. I would call this phenomenon the Paschal Spiral because the end of the reading circle never comes to the same point as it was in the last year.

3. The paschal spiral

Quite often the Synaxarion is described and presented as a continuous system of lections from one Easter to the next. That is why it is called 'the movable circle' and that is why the idea of a circle appeared. Moreover this idea is supported by some printed editions of the lectionaries (of both types: Tetraevangelion with lectionary apparatus and lectionary type in a strict sense). These editions give the sequence of the Gospel lections for the weeks that are numbered starting from 'the first week after Pentecost' and 'the first Sunday after Pentecost, Sunday of All Saints' ending up with 'the 34th Sunday, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son'[25].

[23] Some observations of this fact were made in works by Yvonne Burns (Y. Burns, ' 'The Canaanitess' and other additional lections in early Slavonic lectionaries', *Revue des études sud-est européennes,* 13 *(*1975), pp. 525-528) and Tanja Popova (T. Popova, in Bulgarian: Попова Таня, 'Неделя на Хананейката – за едно интересно четиво от богослужебния апарат на четириевангелията', ('Sunday of the Canaanite Woman – an interesting reading from the liturgical apparatus of the Tetraevangelion'), in *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика*., Sofia, XVIII, (1994), 4, pp. 103–108.

[24] A Slavonic version of this footnote can be found in: T. Popova 1994, p. 107.

[25] *The Holy Gospel* (in Church Slavonic: *Sviatoe Evangelie*), Sviato–Troitskaia Lavra, 2006. The same is in the old edition of 1904, p. 298. In the attachment to the Slavonic Bible (*Biblia, sirech' knigi Sviaschennago Pisania Vetkhago i Novago zaveta)*, Moscow, 1890 the number is ascribed to the next Sunday as well: Sunday 35, Meat Fare Sunday, p. 105. The Orthodox Study Bible ends with 'the 32nd Sunday After Pentecost', p. 776.

However, in this case, the image of a circle can be misleading. A circle presumes reiteration, involves the same content of readings each year. In fact, the set of readings for one year will not be the same for the next year. It is a spiral and not a circle. This fact is quite understandable intuitively, nevertheless those scholars who worked on the lectionary system did not analyse the reason for such irregularity and all the possible consequences of this phenomenon. That is why I think it is necessary to explore it in detail.

As we already know the Synaxarion has four parts: the Johannine, the Matthean, the Lucan and the Marcan periods. One must pay attention to the borders between those periods. These borders have a kind of different 'nature'. Two of them are permanent, but the other two have variations. As a consequence pericopes at these places must follow the nature of a particular border.

The first border is at the meeting point of the Johannine and the Matthean periods. This is the point where the first period that is movable (beginning from Easter) meets with the second, which is also movable, beginning on the Monday after Pentecost (Whit Monday or Pentecost Monday; in the Orthodox Church also known as Monday of the Holy Spirit). It is movable because it is determined by the date of Easter. However, the Johannine period is simple because it is invariable, always containing seven weeks.

The second border is at a meeting point between the Matthean and the Lucan periods. Here things are more complicated because the first period (Matthew) is movable, but the second (Luke) is determined by the date of the fixed feast of the Elevation of the Cross (14th September)[26].

The third border is at a meeting point between the Lucan period and the period of reading the Gospel of Mark. This point is also complicated because the Lucan period begins on the fixed date and meets with the Marcan, the beginning of which is determined by the date of the next Easter. This means that Mark is a movable period but its movability is dependent on the future not on the past. We can say that in a certain sense, at this point time must be calculated from the future, from the Easter that has not yet taken place.

The fourth border is at the meeting point of the Marcan period and the Johannine period. This period is invariable, it always contains seven weeks (in fact, six weeks plus Passion Week).

Therefore the points of the second border (Mt / Lk) and the third border (Lk / Mk) are of great interest for us, because here the additional reading is required in case of a long Paschal year. Or conversely, the readings must shorten in case of a short year. In Liturgics this phenomenon is called 'step back' (Slav.: *otstupka*) and 'step over' (Slav.: *prestupka*)[27]. That is why the manuscripts of the type ℓesk usually count the numbers of the Matthew-weeks and the Luke-weeks separately, independently from each other. We know only a few exceptions encountered among lectionaries of type ℓ^{+a}, but not among ℓesk. The only exception belonging to the last-mentioned group is a Slavonic short *aprakos* Mariinskoe Evangelie (the Codex Marianus)[28].

It is understandable that the complexity of the Byzantine Church calendar which combines the Lunar and the Solar calendar is responsible for such irregularity in the Synaxarion readings. The Lunar year has 50 weeks but the Solar year has 52 weeks and one day. This difference of two weeks is responsible for the fact that the period of time between the two Easter dates varies. The interval between two Easters can consist of just 50 or 51 weeks or comprise 54 and 55 weeks. The Byzantine lectionary system assigns lections for a year of 50 weeks. This means that whenever a year lasts 51, 54, or 55 weeks, additional readings are needed. It is quite possible that the length of one or another liturgical year was reflected in different

26 Here I am not going to enter into details about the fact that the Lucan period begins not on the fixed day but after the first Sunday which falls after the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (it begins on the Monday after that Sunday with the reading of Luke 3.19-22). The beginning of the period may fall between 16th and 22nd September.

27 Sometimes it is also called the 'Lucan jump'.

28 A. Pentkovsky, in Russian: Алексей М. Пентковкий, 'Лекционарии и четвероевангелия в византийской и славанской литургических традициях.' ('The Lectionaries and the Four Gospels (Tetraevangelion) in the Byzantine and the Slavonic Liturgical Traditions'), in *EVANGELIUM secundum IOANNEM, Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice*, I, Petropoli, MCMXCVVIII, (In Russian: Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. (*Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavianskoi traditsii*), ed. by A. A. Alexeev, A. A. Pičchadze, M. M. Babitskaia and others, Sankt-Petersburg, 1998, p. 27.

lectionary manuscripts and therefore it might be helpful in dating manuscripts. To summarise, the Byzantine (Greek and Slavonic) lectionary system presents the Gospel lections in the order in which they are read, but the exact number of readings depends on the 'distance' between the Easter (Pascha) of the current year and of the next year. Each year has two points where the number of weeks and weekly readings can be expanded or shortened. The first point is at the end of the Matthean period when the movable set of readings encounters the immovable (*or* 'fixed') feast. The second point is at the end of the Lucan period, when the sequence of the immovable (*or* 'fixed') readings intersects with the movable period culminating in the next Easter. In this case a priest can make his own choice of readings[29].

Now we can look at specific Greek and Slavonic manuscripts and study how the Gospel readings are disposed for the liturgical year. In particular, we shall be interested in features of the Codex Macedoniensis (Add. 6594, Greek) and the Miroslav Gospel (Slavonic).

4. Codex Macedoniensis (Add. 6594). Alpha-Beta-system

The Codex Macedoniensis (Macedonianus)[30] was brought from Macedonia to England by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite in 1900. It is a ninth-century uncial which was already mentioned by Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener in his well-known Introduction[31]. This manuscript is of particular interest because it has been used in the liturgy and has special rubrics for reading the Scripture following the liturgical year. Its lectionary system was collected from the full rubrical notes throughout the manuscript by William Charles Braithwaite and published in 1904[32]. It turned out that this system differs from the common system of Gospel readings that was widespread in the late Byzantine period. This was already observed by Gregory who pointed to another manuscript which provided an example of a system that was different from that of the common Byzantine one, namely ℓ 292, a ninth-century uncial from Cyprus, now in Carpentras, France[33]. Braithwaite compared the Codex Macedoniensis (Add. 6594) and ℓ 292 with the common Byzantine lectionary-system and came to the conclusion that these two manuscripts present earlier strata in the history of the Byzantine lectionary. The distinction reveals itself not in the first part of the Synaxarion, i.e. the Johannine period, but in the second and third, the Matthean and the Lucan periods. Whereas the lections for the Saturdays and Sundays of all three periods are basically the same, the lections for the weekdays, the Five-day lessons (*kathemerinai*, καθημεριναἱ) that begin on the Monday after Pentecost, are different.

As I mentioned above, the Matthean period begins on the Monday after Pentecost and provides readings for seventeen weeks. This period owes its name to the fact that the lections indicated for all the Saturdays and Sundays, as well as those prescribed for the weekdays of the first eleven weeks, are taken from the Gospel of Matthew. However, the lessons for the weekdays of the last five weeks are derived from the Gospel of Mark. We find a similar situation in the Lucan period. The lections indicated for the Saturdays and Sundays of this period, as well as those assigned to the weekdays of the first twelve weeks, are taken from the Gospel of Luke. Yet the pericopes indicated for the weekdays of the next six weeks are derived from the Gospel of Mark, with the exception of three days in the nineteenth week, when the lections are again taken from Luke.

[29] It used to be the practice of the Church, but not anymore. Now the choice has been made by the Synod or by the synodal publisher.

[30] K. Aland 1994, p. 22: Y 034, e†, IX, pergament/parchment, 309 fol., 1 col. Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Add. Manuscripts. 6594.

[31] F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students,* 4th ed. ed. by E. Miller, 2 vols., London, 1894, vol. 1, p. 132.

[32] W. C. Braithwaite, 'The lection-System of the Codex Macedonianus', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1904), pp. 265-274.

[33] K. Aland 1994, p. 236: U-ℓe, IX, pergament/parchment, 277 fol., 2 col., Carpentras, Bibl. munic. 10 (L 11).

Braithwaite called the common Byzantine lection-system the Kappa-system (it seems the name comes from *kathemerinai*, καθημεριναί, – weekdays). In this system there are in total 173 weekday lections that are distributed in the following way:

55 from Matthew – 11 weeks;
25 from Mark – 5 weeks; no weekday readings during the 17th week;
60 from Luke – 12 weeks;
30 from Mark – 6 weeks;
3 from Luke – the last week before Great Lent[34].

The Codex Macedoniensis (Add. 6594) gives another distribution of the lections for the weekdays. During the first nine weeks after Pentecost the weekday readings are drawn from Matthew. In the next eight weeks they are taken from Mark and in the next eleven weeks, from Luke. In the last weeks no readings are provided for the weekdays, only for Saturdays and Sundays. Braithwaite called this system of reading the Alpha-system (α-type). It has in total 140 lections for the weekdays distributed as follows:

45 from Matthew – 9 weeks;
40 from Mark – 8 weeks (weekday readings from the 10th week of Mt);
55 from Luke – 11 weeks.
There are no weekday readings during the following weeks, only for Saturdays and Sundays.

In ℓ 292 we encounter a system that differs from both the K-system and the Alpha-system. Here, in the first nine weeks after Pentecost, the weekday readings are taken from Matthew. In the next seven weeks, no weekday lections are indicated. In the following eleven weeks (the Lucan period), the weekday readings are taken from Luke and in the following eight weeks, they come from the Gospel of Mark. Braithwaite called this system of reading the Beta-system (β-type). It also has in total 140 lections for the weekdays:

45 from Matthew, that are read during the first 9 weeks of this period;
55 from Luke – read over 11 weeks;
40 from Mark – read over 8 weeks (weekday readings from the 12th week of Lk).

The differences and points of agreement between the three systems can be visualized by means of the following diagram.

	κ-type					**α-type**					**β-type**			
	Mt	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**		**Mt**	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**		**Mt**	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														

[34] Alexei Pentkovsky counts 170 (A. Pentkovsky 1998, p. 5); the same in Anatoly Alexeev's book (A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 34). They do not count three readings from Luke in the last week before Great Lent.

	κ-type					**α-type**					**β-type**			
	Mt	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**		**Mt**	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**		**Mt**	**Mk**	**Lk**	**Mk**
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														
13														
14														
15														
16														
17														
18														
19			3xLk (Mon, Tue, Thu)											

Braithwaite has demonstrated that the K-system derived from the Alpha-Beta-system and was the result of an attempt to spread the lessons taken from all three Gospels over two periods, both the Matthean and Lucan. That this indeed was the case clearly emerges from the following table in which we have collected all the cases where the Alpha-Beta-lections appear to have been divided into two Kappa-lections. For example, **α-β-reading** Matthew 11. 16-26, which takes place on the 14th weekday of Mt, is divided into two: Matthew 11. 16-20 (17th weekday) and Matthew 11. 20-26 (18th weekday) in Kappa-system. (See also in Supplement 1.)

Fifteen cases where the α-β- lessons divided into two κ- lessons:

	Days	**κ- lessons**	**Days**	**α-β- lessons**
	Matthew lessons			
1.	17.	Mt 11. 16-20	14.	Mt 11. 16-26
	18.	Mt 11. 20-26		
2.	20.	Mt 12. 1-8	16.	Mt 12.9-13: – α 12.1-13: –β
	21.	Mt 12. 9-13		
3.	25.	Mt 13. 3-12	19.	Mt 13. 3-23; 11. 15.
	26.	Mt 13. 10-23		
4.	28.	Mt 13. 31-36	21.	13. 33-43
	29.	Mt 13. 36-43		
5.	30.	Mt 13. 44-54	22.	Mt 13.44-58
	31.	Mt 13. 54-58		

	Days	**κ- lessons**	**Days**	**α-β- lessons**
6.	33.	Mt 14. 35–15. 11	24.	Mt 14.35 – 15.21
	34.	Mt 15. 12-21		
7.	46.	Mt 21. 18-22	35.	Mt 21. 18-27
	47.	Mt 21. 23-27		
i.	55.	Mt 24.27–33. 42–51	43.	Mt 24.28-33
			44.	Mt 24.45-51
	Mark-lessons			
8.	7.	Mk 3. 13-21	7.	Mk 3. 13-27
	8.	Mk 3. 20-27		
9.	17.	Mk 6. 1-7	16.	Mk 6. 2-13
	18.	Mk 6. 7-13		
10.	21.	Mk 6. 54 – 7. 8	19.	Mk 6. 54 – 7. 16
	22.	Mk 7. 5-16		
11.	32.	Mk 10. 2-11	28.	Mk 10. 2-16
	33.	Mk 10. 11-16		
	Luke-lessons			
12.	23.	Lk 9. 43-50	24.	Lk 9. 43-56
	24.	Lk 9. 49-56		
13.	33.	Lk 11. 42-46	33.	Lk 11. 43 – 12. 1
	34.	Lk 11. 47 – 12. 1		
14.	37.	Lk 12. 42-48	36.	Lk 12.42-59
	38.	Lk 12. 48-59		
15.	51.	Lk 19. 37-44	47.	Lk 19.39-48
	52.	Lk 19. 45-48		

Now we shall compare these results with lectionary systems found in Slavonic lectionaries-aprakos.

5. The Miroslav Gospel*

The Miroslav Gospel (in Serbian: *Мирослављево јеванђеље* or *Miroslavljevo Jevanđelje*) is a 362-page illuminated manuscript on parchment written in about 1180 in Old Church Slavonic. It is a complete lectionary-aprakos. The manuscript was described and published by Ljubomir Stojanovich in 1897 in

* See Picture 1: the **Miroslav Gospels** (Serbian: Мирослављево Јеванђеље or Miroslavljevo Jevanđelje). This Gospel Book is a 362-page illuminated manuscript on parchment with very rich decorations. It is one of the oldest surviving documents written in Old Church Slavonic. The Miroslav Gospels manuscript is the most precious and significant document of the cultural heritage of Serbia. It was created by order of Miroslav, brother of Stefan Nemanja, Grand Prince of Rascia.

Vienna[35]. When Stojanovich started his work he noticed that the lectionary system of this Gospel differs from the one that was known to him (he compared it with the Slavonic Juriev Gospel and the Greek lectionary of XI c., ℓ 49). Stojanovich asked his colleagues in Russia to help him to find some more Slavonic gospels-*aprakos* that had the same lectionary system. The answer was that for the time being they could not find such a copy. However, a Russian/Greek scholar Panteleimon Komnin[36] did find two Greek manuscripts that had the same system: one in the Library of St Petersburg Theological Academy (a lectionary, dating from 985 CE) and another in the Imperator Public Library (Tetraevangelion of the twelfth century)[37].

It was only in the 1960s that two scholars simultaneously started investigating this phenomenon. These were Lidia Petrovna Žukovskaia in Russia and Yvonne Burns in Great Britain. Žukovskaia was studying mainly Slavic manuscripts and Burns both Greek and Slavic manuscripts. They came to the outstanding results that later helped Anatoly Alexeev, Alexei Pentkovsky and the other editors of the critical edition of the Slavonic John to develop a new vision on the history of Slavic (Old Slavonic) lectionaries–*aprakos* and their Tetraevangelion counterparts.

6. Work by Yvonne Burns and Lidia Petrovna Žukovskaia on different types of Byzantine and Slavonic lectionaries

One can find a description and brief analysis of the major works of Yvonne Burns and Lidia Petrovna Žukovskaia and a bibliography in a fundamental work of Marcello Garzaniti about the Slavonic Version of the Gospel[38]. It is a very remarkable fact that two scholars in two different countries, independently from each other started studying the same Slavonic manuscript, namely the Miroslav Gospel[39]. Lidia P. Žukovskaia published the results of her studies in 1967 and 1968[40]. The result of Burns' study was published in Serbian in Belgrade in 1970[41].

Žukovskaia describes in all detail the story of how Stojanovich discovered the peculiarity of the lectionary system of the Miroslav and she gives detailed quotations from the letter that Panteleimon Komnin wrote to Stojanovich[42]. She mentions how many manuscripts were checked in the attempt to find the same type of lectionary system as that encountered in the Miroslav. Twenty-eight manuscripts were checked by Alexei Alexandrovich Shakhmatov and Feodor Ivanovich Pokrovsky in the State Public Library, fifteen *aprakos* in the Typograph Library by Viacheslav Nikolaevich Schepkin. He also checked one *aprakos* in the Historical Museum and seven manuscripts in the Synodal Library. Six *aprakos* were checked in Belgrade, and unknown number of manuscripts in Zagreb by other scholars, but at that time

[35] L. Stojanovich (Љ Стојановић), *Мирослављево јеванђеље*, Vienna, 1897.

[36] About Panteleimon Komnin see A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 147.

[37] Y. Burns, in Serbian: И. Бернс, 'Распоред недельних перекопа в Мирослављевом *јеванђељу*', *Зборник Народног музеја у Београду*, Свеска VI, Београд, 1970. стр. 259-286. (Y. Burns, 'The Week-day Lection System of Miroslav's Gospel', in *Collection of the National Museum*, Belgrade, 1970), pp. 259–286.

[38] M. Garzaniti 2001, pp. VI+795. About Y. Burns, pp. 229–235, about L. Žukovskaia, pp. 214–226.

[39] This is an observation of A. Alexeev. See A. A. Alexeev 2008, pp. 150–151.

[40] L. P. Žukovskaia, in Russian: Л. П. Жуковская, 'Типология рукописей древнерусского полного апракоса XI—XIV вв. в связи с лингвистическим изучением их.' ('Typology of the manuscripts of Old-Russian complete aprakos of XI–XIV centuries'), in *Monuments of Old Russian literature: language and textology*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 199–332 // *Памятники древнерусской письменности: Язык и текстология*. М., 1968, с. 199-332; L. P. Žukovskaia, in Russian: *Л. П. Жуковская,* 'Некоторые данные о группировке славянских рукописей полного апракоса 12–14 вв.', in *Палестинский сборник*, 1967 Т. 17. С. 176-184. // *Palestinskij sbornik*, Akademija nauk SSSR. Rossijskoe Palestinskoe obščestvo ; vyp. 17 (80).

[41] Y. Burns 1970, pp. 259–286.

[42] L. P. Žukovskaia 1968, pp. 241-247.

no other manuscripts of this type. All the manuscripts had been compared with the Juriev *aprakos*. Only seventy years later did Žukovskaia manage to find a similar manuscript, manuscript Nr 9 from the collection of Grigorovitch, fourteenth century[43].

Žukovskaia suggested that in the past two different lectionary systems were used. The first one, which is common to the majority of manuscripts, she called 'Mstislav' (according to the Mstislav Gospel), and the second one – the 'Miroslav type'. Later in her work Žukovskaia came to the conclusion that it is possible and necessary to distinguish more sub-classes within these two types. She suggested that the total number of sub-classes of only the Mstislav type must be twenty[44].

Yvonne Burns started her article with the same story about the Miroslav Gospel, though with less details than Žukovskaia. What is really important in her article is that she identified the Miroslav Gospel with the Alpha-type discovered by William Charles Braithwaite. She took into account more Greek manuscripts and came to remarkable results. Burns studied the following manuscripts:

1. Codex Macedoniensis (Y 034). IX c. – Alpha type[45]. – α
2. ℓ 292, XI c., U-ℓ e, Carpentras, – Beta type, – β. (W. C. Braithwaite took the description of this manuscript from C. R. Gregory, but Burns checked it herself.)
3. ℓ 318 – Gamma – γ, ℓ e†, XIII. London
4. ℓ 308 – Delta, – δ, ℓ e†, XI. Cambridge
5. ℓ 323 – Epsilon, – ε, ℓ e, XII. London
6. ℓ 321 – Dzeta, – ζ, XIII., ℓ e, London
7. ℓ 1826 – Eta, – η, XII., ℓ e†, Athena
8. ℓ 1496 – Theta, – θ, 1413. ℓ e, London
9. ℓ 344 – Jota, – ι, XII., ℓ e†, London
10. ℓ 220 – Lambda, -λ, XIV., ℓ esk†, (XIII ?) Michigan
11. ℓ 638 – Mu, – μ, XIII., ℓ e, (XI ?), Athos, Dionysiu
12. Miroslav Gospel, (M), XII, Belgrade.

Yvonne Burns did not have access to copies of the manuscripts mentioned by Panteleimon Komnin but she thought that he must have referred to ℓ 1552 and e 330 respectively. She discovered that three manuscripts belong to the α-type: α, γ, δ. Two manuscripts belong to the β-type: β, η. Ms ε is close to the α-type. Ms ζ is close to the β-type. Manuscripts θ, ι and μ are of the mixed type[46]. The Miroslav Gospel is a mixed type as well, but what is important is that it begins as α-type:

Matthew – 9 weeks;	
Mark (weekdays) – 8 weeks;	The end is at 17th Saturday/Sunday of Matthew.
Luke – 11 weeks;	
That is all as in α-type. But then the readings follow κ-type:	
Luke – 1 week;	
Mark – 5 weeks;	
One week is empty.	17th Saturday/Sunday + Saturday/Sunday of the Canaanite woman.

[43] A description of Grigorovich 9 ms is on p. 247.
[44] L. P. Žukovskaia 1976, pp. 309–313 and the table 14 on pp. 318–319.
[45] Yvonne Burns does accept the symbols Alpha and Beta suggested by Braithwaite
[46] Y. Burns 1970, pp. 266–267.

Burns concludes: 'Until now the Miroslav Gospel is the only Slavonic manuscript that belongs to the α-β-type'[47]. As we know, Žukovskaia did discover one more.

One of the achievements of Burns' work is the discovery of a very important manuscript: ℓ 220 – XIV., ℓ esk†, (XIII ?) Michigan. She called it Lambda (λ). It prescribes the following readings: The Matthew period comprises 17 weeks. In the first 9 weeks, the weekday readings are taken from Matthew. There are none during the following 8 weeks; only the readings for Saturday and Sunday. The Lucan period also has 17 weeks. In the first 11 weeks the weekday readings are derived from the Gospel of Luke. Then there are no weekday readings during the following 6 weeks.

This means that the λ-type combines the peculiarities of the α and the β-types. Apparently the λ-type used to be a sort of prototype for further development of the lectionary system in the Byzantine tradition. Burns also suggested that one should distinguish one more lectionary type, namely the S-type. This type has some different readings in the first week of the Matthean period.

Sunday PENTECOST		κ- type	S- type	α-β-type
Beginning of Matthew				
Monday (1)	Mt 18. 10-20	κ.1	So S	So αβ
Tuesday (2)	Mt 4. 25 – 5. 13	κ.2	4. 23 – 5. 13	4. 25 – 5. (1/2) 12
Wednesday (3)	Mt 5. 20-30	κ.3	5. 20 – 26	5. 20-30
Thursday (4)	Mt 5. 31-41	κ.4	5. 27 – 32	5. 31-41
Friday (5)	Mt 7. 9-18	κ.5	5. 33 – 41	7. 9-18
Saturday	Mt 5. 42-48			
Sunday 1st after Pentecost	Mt 10. 32. 33. 37. 38 and 19. 27-30.			
Monday (6)	Mt 6. 31-34 & 7. 9 – 14	κ.6	6. 31 – 34 & 7. 9 – 14	7. 19 – 23
Tuesday (7)	Mt 7. 15-21	κ.7	7. 15 – 21	8. 23 – 27
Wednesday (8)	Mt 7. 21-23	κ.8	7. 21 – 23	So α8; β8.: 9. 14 – (1/2)18
Thursday (9)	Mt 8. 23-27	κ.9	8. 23 – 27	
Friday (10)	Mt 9. 14-17	κ.10	κ.10	Mt 10. 9-15

Burns found fifteen Greek manuscripts that belong to the S-type. I must say that in my view it would be better not to call it a type but a sub-type. Burns did not take into account the fact that this period is called the 'after-feast' (Slav.: *poprazdnstvo*) of Pentecost in the Byzantine Church. It lasts for six days until the Saturday after Pentecost. That is why it may have a special set of lections.

Furthermore, she pointed to an interesting inversion in the readings numbered seven and eight of the Lucan period: number 7 (Luke 5. 12–16) and then number 8 (Luke 5. 33–39) is read in α, δ, η, and ι. The number 8 in place of 7 is read in: β, ε, ζ, λ, and μ. It is important because the same inversion can be traced in some Slavonic manuscripts, and the Miroslav Gospel is one of them.

Burns concludes the following: the λ-type and the α-β-type is more ancient than the κ-type. The S-type served as a transitional type from α-β-type to κ-type.

[47] Y. Burns, 1970, p. 267

7. A. Alexeev, A. Pentkovsky and the critical edition of the Slavonic John

The critical edition of the Slavonic John was published in 1998 by a group of scholars under the leadership of Prof. Anatoly Alexeev[48]. They studied and collated more than 1100 manuscripts. For this edition Alexei Pentkovsky wrote an article 'The Lectionaries and the Four Gospels (Tetraevangelion) in the Byzantine and the Slavonic Liturgical Traditions'[49] where he addresses a question connected with the liturgical apparatus in the Greek and the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. He also describes the α-β-type and the κ-type. His description is based on the works of Braithwaite and Burns. Unfortunately, Pentkovsky does not mention the λ-type and the S-type, which were described by Yvonne Burns. However, what is particularly interesting is that Pentkovsky found the Greek manuscripts that were mentioned by Panteleimon Komnin and the microfilms that Burns was unable to receive from the Soviet Union. These are indeed ℓ 1552 and e 330, as she had conjectured. It turned out that ℓ 1552 (year 985) is in fact a lectionary of the α-type. The Tetraevangelion e 330 (XII c.) has the lectionary apparatus of the α-type. What is even more noteworthy, is that Pentkovsky found more Greek lectionaries of this type and their Slavonic counterparts.

The Greek lectionaries belonging to the α-type are: ℓ 1552 (year 985; St Petersburg, Russian National Library), ℓ 48 (year 1055; Moscow, State Historical Museum)[50], ℓ 308 and ℓ 318 (Delta – δ and Gamma – γ according to Burns); and also the Georgian lectionary XIII-XIV c.[51].

Anatoly Alexeev expands this list while adding[52]: ℓ 226 (XIV c.), ℓ 108 (XI c.), ℓ 379 (XII c.), ℓ 437 (XII c.), ℓ 638 (XI c.). In this case he makes a reference to the work of William Davenport Bray[53]. It is important to note that this very work was used by Yvonne Burns when she studied and discovered the manuscripts of this type. In fact, Bray in his work showed that this type of lectionary has textual differences compared with the κ-type[54].

The Greek lectionaries belonging to the β-type are: ℓ 292 (Carpentras), ℓ 1841 (XII c., Rus. Bibl. Acad. Science), ℓ 1826 (XI c., Athens. Nat. Bibl. 3062)[55]. As I have already suggested the list of liturgical manuscripts must be expanded and the Tetraevangelion with lectionary apparatus included in it[56]. That is why I give a list of Tetraevangelion that belong to different types.

[48] *EVANGELIUM secundum IOANNEM, Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice*, I, Petropoli, MCMXCVVIII, (In Russian: *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavianskoi traditsii*), ed. by A. A. Alexeev, A. A. Pičchadze, M. M. Babitskaia, and others, Sankt-Petersburg, 1998.

[49] A. Pentkovsky 1998, Attachment I, pp. 3–54.

[50] This manuscript is briefly described by K. I. Nevostruev, (In Russian: К. И. Невоструев, Исследование о Евангелии, писанном для Новгородского князя Мстислава Владимировича в начале *XII* века, в сличении с Остромировым списком, Галичским и двумя другими *XII* и одним *XIII* века (Мстиславово Евангелие *XII* века: Исследования), Moscow, 1997, pp. 317-319, note 55.

[51] A. Pentkovsky 1998, p. 5, footnote 18. He makes reference to G. Garitte, 'Analyse d'un lectionnaire byzantino-géorgien des Evangiles (Sin. Géorg. 74)', I, *Le Museon*, 91 (1978), pp. 105–152, pp. 367–448.

[52] A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 119.

[53] W. D. Bray, *The Weekday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary. Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, Chicago, 1959.

[54] Bray, pp.11–15.

[55] Anatoly Alexeev includes this ms to the list of α-type manuscripts: A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 119.

[56] In fact this has been already suggested by Stefan M. Royé. See S. M. Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research. Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri,* 47 (2008), pp. 5-145, esp p. 53 and pp. 105–107.

- The ancient Greek Tetraevangelion with lectionary apparatus (ℓesk system: concise form):
  Codex E (07, Codex Basiliensis, VIII c., Basel, ms with *titlos*, lectionary equipment, and Eusebian canon numerals)[57]; according to Pentkovsky most of the Greek Tetraevangelion (the Four Gospels) of VIII–X centuries have this type (ℓesk) of lectionary apparatus[58].
  Codex L (019, Codex Regius, VIII c., Paris).
  e 461 (year 835, St Petersburg, Russian National Library).
  Codex V (031, X c., Moscow, State Historical Museum).
  e 2500 (year 891, St Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RAIK / РАИК 74).

- The Greek Tetraevangelion of the α-type:
  Codex Macedoniensis (Y 034).
  Codex M (021, Codex Campianus, IX c., Paris).
  Codex S (028, year 949, Bibl. Vat. Gr. 354).
  e 330 (XII c., St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Greek 101).
  e 826 (XII c., Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. α. 3).
  e 828 (XII c., Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. α. 5).

- The ancient Slavonic Tetraevangelion with lectionary apparatus (Alpha-type):
  The Codex Marianus (a Glagolitic manuscript of 174 folios, of the late tenth or early eleventh century)[59].
  Codex Zographensis (a Glagolitic Tetraevangelium of 288 folios, of the tenth century)[60].

- The Greek Tetraevangelion of the β-type: NOT found (so far).

- The Slavonic lectionaries of the α-type:
  The Miroslav Gospel,
  The Grigorovich Gospel Number 9.

This is certainly not the end of the story and certainly not the end of the list of different types of manuscripts. In 1999 Ekaterina Dogramadžieva[61] added three more Slavonic manuscripts to the list of Miroslavov's type: RGADA-1 (continuous text, twelfth century), Vatican manuscript (full lectionary, Serbian copy, thirteenth century) and a short Bulgarian thirteenth/fourteenth-century lectionary. She also found that remains of the α-type can be retraced in thirteen other Slavonic manuscripts. In fact Dogramadžieva opened a new stage in the research on the Byzantine-Slavonic lectionary system of the tenth-fourteenth centuries[62].

Coming back to the critical edition of the Slavonic John and the article by Alexei Pentkovsky, I have to note that Pentkovsky did not find Slavonic manuscripts of the β-type. Nevertheless, observation of the

[57] Photo of one page of the manuscript in B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, Third, Enlarged Edition, New York-Oxford, 1992, plate VIII, page 30.

[58] A. Pentkovsky 1998, p. 7.

[59] A brief description in: B. M. Metzger 1977, pp. 405–406. See also A. Pentkovsky 1998, p. 27.

[60] A. Pentkovsky 1998, p. 28.

[61] E. Dogramadžieva, (in Bulgarian: Е. *Дограмаджиева,* 'Нови данни за апракосите от мирославски тип' ('New Data on the Lectionaries of Miroslavov>s Type'), in *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика*, Sofia, XXIII (1999), 1, pp. 3–13. See also A. A. Alexeev 2008, p. 152.

[62] One of her important works: E. Dogramadžieva, (in Bulgarian: Е. *Дограмаджиева*, 'Синаксарните четива в ранните славянски евангелски ръкописи' ('The Synaxarion Lections in the Early Slavonic Gospel Manuscripts'), in *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика*., Sofia, XXIV, (2000), 1. pp. 3–40. A complete list of Ekaterina Dogramadžieva's work relevant for this subject I give in the Bibliography.

manuscripts allowed him to draw the conclusion that the first Old Church Slavonic translation of the NT was not a lectionary, as supposed by the majority of scholars in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, but the Four Gospels, that is the Tetraevangelion. Anatoly Alexeev not only agreed with this conclusion but also made his valuable contribution to the study of the quest for the first Slavonic translation[63]. His conclusion is also based upon text-critical observations of the manuscripts. I think that Alexeev's observations of the non-Byzantine readings in the Slavonic version must be taken into account in further studies of the Greek lectionary.

8. Conclusion

First of all, I want to underline that my research has been conducted only in the field of the Byzantine lectionary. The Jerusalem lectionary system has its own peculiarities. Valuable observations of the Jerusalem and Antiochian lectionary systems are given in a very detailed work by Anatoly Alexeev[64] *The Bible in Orthodox Worship: Byzantine-Slavonic Lectionaries* (in Russian: Библия в богослужении. Византийско–славянский лекционарий), 2008, especially in the chapter 'The results of a study of the NT lectionary'. In this work, Alexeev addresses the question of the date of the formation of the Byzantine lectionary structure[65]. In principle, he agrees with the date suggested by Klaus Junack[66] and Yvonne Burns[67] who hold that the lectionary was formed in the seventh century. However, on the basis of historical-liturgical arguments, he posits that it is possible to date the emergence of this lectionary system more precisely. As a *terminus post quem,* he proposes the time when Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was active, that is between 634–638. As *terminus ad quem* Alexeev suggests the beginning of the eighth century. The reason why he chooses this date is that the oldest lectionary manuscripts belong to this period (on this point, he bases himself on the research done by Klaus Junack).

This research has been done as a part of general work on the project: 'The construction of a catalogue of Byzantine NT manuscripts according to codico-liturgical criteria, with an assessment of the textual and hermeneutical implications for Bible research. An East-West cooperation'. The results of the research presented and further worked out in this article are important not only because of the new facts from the history of Byzantine and Slavonic lectionaries brought to light, but because they also offer new possibilities for making a new classification of the NT manuscripts. In the past, the homogeneity of Byzantine lectionaries has been underlined. It is clear now that in general, different types and classes of lectionaries will have to be distinguished. Apparently, these types go back to the time the Byzantine lectionary system was formed. It means that the study of the history of the Byzantine form of the NT text is indissolubly connected to the study of forms of the liturgical lections and the lectionary systems. The hermeneutics of the lectionary readings is to be based on the study of the method for selecting lections for the whole liturgical year.

[63] See the chapter 'Primacy of the Continuous Gospel text' in the Introduction to the edition of the Slavonic John. *EVANGELIUM secundum IOANNEM* 1998, pp. 19–21.

[64] See footnote 7.

[65] See paragraph 2: The origin of the Byzantine lectionary, pp. 120–139.

[66] K. Junack, 'Zu den Griechischen Lektionaren und Ihrer Überlieferung der Katholischen Briefe' [Sonderdruck aus: Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 5], in *Die alten Ubersetzungen des Neuen Testamentes, die Kirchenvaterzitate und Lektionare*, hrsg. v. K. Aland, Berlin-New York, 1972, pp. 498-591.

[67] Y. Burns, 'The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries', in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* XVI, Internationaler Byzantinistenkogress, Wien, 4–9 Oktober 1981, Akten II/4, Wien, 1982, pp. 119–127.

In this regard, I want to recall that suggestions were made more than fifteen years ago by Caroll D. Osburn in conclusion to her article on the lectionary[68]:

1. A critical edition of the lectionary is greatly needed.
2. It is vital that a history of the lectionary text be produced, based on adequate textual data, especially an account of the various pre-seventh-century lectionary forms and the relationship with lections from early Church Fathers such as Chrysostom.
3. While it is evident that lectionaries have much to contribute to the understanding of the later NT manuscript tradition, much remains to be done in clarifying the value of lectionaries for a better understanding of the earlier tradition.
4. Greater attention needs to be given to locating instances in which the lectionaries have influenced non-lectionary manuscripts, including variants created by incipits, words substituted for public reading, and transpositions of the text.
5. More work needs to be done on the relationship of the lectionaries to the developing liturgical tradition[69].

Our research clearly shows that Carroll Osburn's suggestions are of great importance and are still waiting to be implemented. This is a kind of programme for further research and it demands more resources than we have now. However, concerning his second point and the fifth, I can say with certainty that the results that have been presented in this article show that this direction of research (historical-liturgical method) is very productive. Indeed, it is only by combining the efforts of liturgics and the history of NT manuscripts that one can trace the history of the Byzantine lectionary system and the history of the lectionary as a book (manuscript). Without knowledge of this history it would be difficult to work out a classification of New Testament manuscripts.

Let me summarise the main conclusions of this research.

- Writing about the Byzantine tradition of NT manuscripts one should include the Slavonic NT manuscripts into this group. The latter could help to trace the history of the Byzantine lectionary system. The study of Greek lectionaries must be conducted in parallel with the Slavonic manuscripts.
- The current classification of NT manuscripts must be reconsidered and those Tetraevangelia manuscripts that have lectionary tables must be considered as belonging to the liturgical manuscripts.
- The study of Byzantine lectionaries must not only take into account the Biblical texts transmitted by them, but also the information concerning their liturgical setting. For example, existing systems of rubrics and headings must be carefully studied and included into the description of the codices. Also the existing system of dividing into chapters (paragraphs) must be carefully studied (Ammonian, Eusebian etc.) and included into a description of the codex. This extra information about manuscripts could give us better understanding of the hermeneutical principals of an ancient reader of the Biblical text.
- While dealing with groups of liturgical manuscripts, special attention has to be paid to those that have more ancient lectionary systems (the α-β-type and the λ-type). They should be treated as a separate class of manuscripts.

[68] Carroll D. Osburn 1995, p. 71.

[69] Cf. K. Aland and B. Aland, 1989, p. 168: 'Research in lectionaries should have started with appreciation of liturgical studies'.

– The appearance of the Gospel readings during the first week of Great Lent, the *pannykhides* (εὐαγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς τὰς παννυχίδας), in the Greek tradition should be studied.

With regard to future studies dealing with the manuscripts, it will be important to pay attention to the specific 'border points', that is, the end of the Matthean period (the 17th week), and the end of the Lucian period (the 17th week of Lk, the Sunday of the Canaanite woman, and the weeks before Great Lent). It seems that, at these points, some manuscripts reveal their own individual peculiarities. In this case these peculiarities must be studied together with the readings for the immovable feasts – the Menologion. This could be the next step of research that will lead to a more detailed classification of Byzantine lectionaries.

In the supplement, I give two tables showing a sequence of liturgical readings for the Matthean and Lucian periods. They are based on the works of Gregory, Scrivener, Braithwaite, Burns and Žukovskaia.

The first column presents a typical Byzantine lectionary system as described by Gregory[70] and Scrivener[71]. The second one is the κ-type as presented by Braithwaite[72]. The third column presents the α-β-type that was described by Braithwaite and supplemented by Burns[73]. The last two columns present two Slavonic Gospels: the Mstislav Gospel, which has the traditional κ-type lectionary system (but S-type!) and the Miroslav Gospel – the α-type. The latter was described by Y. Burns and both of them were described by Lidia Žukovskaia[74]. These tables can be used as a pattern for checking up manuscripts for their classification and for further research.

Supplement 1

Days of the liturgical year	**Gregory / Scrivener**	**Braith. κ**	**Braithwaite / Burns α β**	**Slav Mstislav Gospel**	**Slav Miroslav Gospel**
Sunday PENTECOST Whitsunday	Lit.: John 7. 37–52; 8. 12.	Kappa	Alpha–Beta	Mstislav	Miroslav
Beginning Gospel of Matthew			α β		
Whit Monday (Monday of the Holy Spirit)	Mt 18. 10–20	κ.1	Mt 18. 10-20	κ.1	κ.1
Tuesday	Mt 4. 25–5. 13	κ.2	4.25–5. ½12	Mt 4.23–25; 5.1–13 This is S-type according to Y. Burns	4. 25–5. 12
Wednesday	Mt 5. 20–30	κ.3	Mt 5. 20-30	5. 20-26 (**S-type**)	κ.3: 5. 20–30

70 C. R. Gregory 1900, pp. 343–361.
71 F. H. A. Scrivener 1894, Appendix to Chapter III, pp. 80–85.
72 W. C. Braithwaite 1904, p. 265-274
73 Y. Burns 1970, pp. 268–272.
74 L. P. Žukovskaia 1976, table 10 on pp. 273–284.

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Thursday	Mt 5. 31–41	κ.4	Mt 5. 31-41	5. 27-32 (**S-type**)	κ.4: 5. 31–41
Friday	Mt 7. 9–18	κ.5	Mt 7. 9-18	5. 33-41 (**S-type**)	κ.5: 7. 9–18
Saturday	Mt 5. 42–48			Mt 5. 42–48	Mt 5. 42–48
Sunday 1st after Pentecost	Mt 10. 32, 33, 37, 38 and 19. 27-30			Mt 10. 32, 33, 37, 38 and 19. 27-30	Mt 10. 32, 33, 37, 38 and 19. 27-30
Monday	Mt 6.31-34 and 7. 9–14	κ.6	7. 19-23	Mt 6. 31-34 and 7. 9–14	7. 19-23
Tuesday	Mt 7. 15-21	κ.7	8. 23-27	κ.7	8.23-27
Wednesday	Mt 7. 21-23	κ.8	Alpha: 9. 14–17; Beta: 9. 14 –½ 18	κ.8	9. 14-18
Thursday	Mt 8. 23-27	κ.9	9. 36–10.8	κ.9	9. 36–10.8
Friday	Mt 9. 14-17	κ.10	10. 9-15	κ.10	10. 9-15
Saturday	Mt 7. 1-8			Mt 7. 1-8	Mt 7. 1-8
Sunday 2d	Mt 4. 18-23			Mt 4. 18-23	Mt 4. 18-23
Monday	Mt 9. 36–10. 8	κ.11	10. 16-22	κ.11	10. 16-22
Tuesday	Mt 10.9-15	κ.12	α, β 12.: 10. ½ 26 – 31	κ.12	10. 26-31
Wednesday	Mt 10. 16-22	κ.13	11. 2-15	κ.13	11. 2-15
Thursday	Mt 10. 23-31	κ.14	11. 16-26	κ.14	11. 16-26
Friday	Mt 10. 32-36 and 11. 1	κ.15	11. 27-30	κ.15	11. 27-30
Saturday	Mt 7. 24 – 8. 4			Mt 7. 24 – 8. 4;	Mt 7. 24 – 8. 4
Sunday 3d	Mt 6. 22-33			Mt 6. 22-33	Mt 6. 22-33
Monday	Mt 11. 2-15	κ.16	12. 1-13	κ.16	12. 1-13
Tuesday	Mt 11. 16-20	κ.17	12. 22-29	κ.17	12. 22-29
Wednesday	Mt 11. 20-26	κ.18	12. 38-50	κ.18	12. 38-50
Thursday	Mt 11. 27-30	κ.19	13. 3 – 23 + 11. 15: 'He who has ears to hear...'	κ.19	13. 3-23
Friday	Mt 12. 1-8	κ. 20	13. 24-32	κ.20	13. 24-32
Saturday	Mt 8. 14-23 ℓ 32 and ℓ186 (Cambridge, Trinity Coll.) do not incl. v. 19–22			Mt 8. 14-18, 23	Mt 8. 14-23
Sunday 4th	Mt 8. 5-13			Mt 8. 5-13	Mt 8. 5-13

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Monday	Mt 12. 9-13	κ.21	13. 33-43	κ.21	13. 33-43
Tuesday	Mt 12.14-16. 22-30	κ.22	13. 44-58	κ.22	13. 44-58
Wednesday	Mt 12. 38-45	κ.23	14. 1-13	κ.23	14. 1-13
Thursday	Mt 12.46 – 13.3	κ.24	14. 35-36; 15. 1-21	κ.24	14. 35-36; 15.1–21
Friday	Mt 13. 3-12	κ.25	15. 29-31	κ.25	15. 29-31
Saturday	Mt 9. 9-13			Mt 9. 9-13	Mt 9. 9-13
Sunday 5th	Mt 8. 28 – 9. 1	Mt 8. 28	– 9. 1	Mt 8. 28	– 9. 1
Monday	Mt 13. 10-23	κ.26	16. 1 – ½ 5	κ.26	16. 1-5
Tuesday	Mt 13. 24-30	κ.27	16. 6-12	κ.27	16. 6-12
Wednesday	Mt 13. 31-36	κ.28	16. 20-24	κ.28	16. 20-24
Thursday	Mt 13. 36-43	κ.29	16. 24-28	κ.29	16. 24-28
Friday	Mt 13. 44-54	κ.30	17. 10-13	κ.30	17. 10-13
Saturday	Mt 9. 18-26			Mt 9. 18-26	Mt 9. 18-26
Sunday 6th	Mt 9. 1-8			Mt 9. 1-8	Mt 9. 1-8
Monday	Mt 13. 54-58	κ. 31	18. 4-11	κ. 31	18. 3-11
Tuesday	Mt 14. 1-13	κ.32	20. 1-16	κ.32	20. 1-16
Wednesday	Mt 14. 35 – 15. 11	κ.33	20. 17-28	κ.33	20. 17-28
Thursday	Mt 15. 12-21	κ.34	21. 12-14	κ.34	21. 12-14
Friday	Mt 15. 29-31	κ.35	21. 18-27	κ.35	21. 18-27
Saturday	Mt 10. 37-11. 1			Mt 10.37 – 11. 1	Mt 10. 37 – 11. 1
Sunday 7th	Mt 9. 27-35			Mt 9. 27-35	Mt 9. 27-35
Monday	Mt 16. 1-6	κ.36	21. 28-32	κ.36	21. 28.32 (Ref to 18th Sund Lk)
Tuesday	Mt 16. 6-12	κ.37	21. 43-46	κ.37	21. 43-46
Wednesday	Mt 16. 20-24	κ.38	22. 23-34	κ.38	22. 23-34
Thursday	Mt 16. 24-28	κ.39	23. 13-22	κ.39	23. 13.22 (Ref to Great Tue Matins)
Friday	Mt 17. 10-18	κ.40	23. 23-28	κ.40	23. 23.28 (Ref to Great Tue Matins)
Saturday	Mt 12. 30-37			Mt 12. 30-37	Mt 12. 30-37
Sunday 8th	Mt 14. 14-22			Mt 14. 14-22	Mt 14. 14-22

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Monday	Mt 18. 1-11	κ.41	23. 29 – **39**	κ.41	23. 29.38 (Ref to Great Tue Matins)
Tuesday	Mt 18. 18-22. 19. 1–2;13-15 Scrivener: 18.18–20; 19.1–2; 13–15	κ.42	24. 13-28	κ.42	24. 13-28
Wednesday	Mt 20. 1-16	κ.43	24. 28-33	κ.43	24. 28-33
Thursday	Mt 20. 17-28	κ.44	24. 45-51	κ.44	24. 45-51
Friday	Mt 21. 12-14. 17-20	κ.45	25. 1-13	κ.45	Mt 25. 1.13 (Ref to Great Tue, Vespers, half)
Saturday	Mt 15. 32-39			Mt 15. 32-39	Mt 15. 32-39
Sunday 9th	Mt 14. 22-34			Mt 14. 22-34	Mt 14. 22-34
End of the Mt reading during weekdays in Alpha, Beta and Lambda			**α Alpha**	**Mstislav.**	**Miroslav.**
Monday	Mt 21. 18-22	κ.46	Mk 1. 9-15	κ.46	**Mark** 1. 9-15
Tuesday	Mt 21. 23-27	κ.47	Mk 1. 16-22	κ.47	Mk 1. 16.22 (Ref to 2d Sund Mt)
Wednesday	Mt 21. 28-32	κ.48	Mk 1. 23-28	κ.48	Mk 1. 23-28
Thursday	Mt 21. 43-46	κ.49	Mk 1. 29-34	κ.49	Mk 1. 29-34
Friday	Mt 22. 23-33	κ.50	Mk 2. 18-22	κ.50	Mk 2. 18-22
Saturday	Mt 17.24	– 18.1 ℓ 32: 17.24	– 8.4	Mt 17.24-18.4 = Miroslav.	Mt 17.24-18.4= Mstislav.
Sunday 10th	Mt 17. 14-23			Mt 17. 14-23	Mt 17. 14-23
Monday	Mt 23. 13-22	κ.51	Mk 3. 6-12	κ.51	Mk 3. 6-12
Tuesday	Mt 23. 23-28	κ.52	Mk 3. 13-27	κ.52	Mk 3. 13-27
Wednesday	Mt 23. 29-39	κ.53	Mk 3. 28-35	κ.53 Mt 23. 29-39	Mk 3. 28-35
Thursday	Mt 24. 13-28 (some manuscripts: 14-28 see Scriv., Gregory)	κ.54	Mk 4. 1-9	κ.54	Mk 4. 1-9
Friday	Mt 24. 27-33. 42-51	κ.55	Mk 4. 10-23	κ.55	Mk 4. 10-23
Saturday	Mt 19. 3-12			Mt 19. 3-12	Mt 19. 3-12

Days of the liturgical year	**Gregory / Scrivener**	**Braith. ϰ**	**Braithwaite / Burns α β**	**Slav Mstislav Gospel**	**Slav Miroslav Gospel**
Sunday 11th	Mt 18. 23-35			Mt 18. 23-35	Mt 18. 23-35
Beginning Gospel of Mark in ϰ			α	**Mstislav.**	**Miroslav.**
Monday	hebdomades acc. to Mk. Mk 1. 9-15	κ.μ.1 Mk 1. 9-15	Mk 4.½ 24-34	κ.m.1 Mk 1. 9-15	Mk 4. 24-34
Tuesday	Mk 1. 16-22	κ.μ.2	Mk 4. 35-41	κ.m.2	Mk 4. 34-41
Wednesday	Mk 1. 23-28	κ.μ.3	Mk 5.1-½ 20	κ.m.3	Mk 5. 1-20
Thursday	Mk 1. 29-35	κ.μ.4	Mk 5. 22-34	κ.m.4	Mk 5. 22-34
Friday	Mk 2. 18-22	κ.μ.5	Mk 5. 35–6. 1	κ.m.5	Mk 5. 35 – 6. 1
Saturday	Mt 20. 29-34			Mt 20. 29-34	Mt 20. 29-34
Sunday 12th	Mt 19. 16-26			Mt 19. 16-26	Mt 19. 16-26
Monday	Mk 3. 6-12	κ.μ.6	Mk 6. 2-13	κ.m.6	Mk 6. 2-13
Tuesday	Mk 3. 13-21	κ.μ.7	Mk 6. 34-45	κ.m.7	Mk 6.54–36; 7. 1–16 inversion!
Wednesday	Mk, 3. 20-27	κ.μ.8	Mk 6. 45-53	κ.m.8	6. 34-45 inversion!
Thursday	Mk, 3. 28-35	κ.μ.9	Mk 6. 54 – 7. 16	κ.m.9	6. 45-53 inversion!
Friday	Mk 4. 1-9	κ.μ.10	Mk 7. 17 – ½ 24	κ.m.10	7. 17-24
Saturday	Mt 22. 15-22			Mt 22. 15-22	Mt 22. 15-22
Sunday 13th	Mt 21. 33-42			Mt 21. 33-42	Mt 21. 33-42
Monday	Mk 4. 10-23	κ.m.11	Mk 7. 24-30		Mk 7. 24-30
Tuesday	Mk 4. 24-34	κ.m.12	Mk 8. 1-10	κ.m.12	8. 1-10
Wednesday	Mk 4. 35-41	κ.m.13	Mk 8. 11-21	κ.m.13	8. 11-21
Thursday	Mk 5. 1-20;	κ.m.14	Mk 8. 22-26	κ.m.14	8. 22-26
Friday	Mk 5. 22-24, 35 – 6. 1.	κ.m.15	Mk 9. 10-16	κ.m.15	9. 10-16
Saturday	Mt 23. 1-12;			Mt 23. 1-12	Mt 23. 1-12
Sunday 14th	Mt 22. 2-14;			Mt 22. 1-14	Mt 22. 1-14
Monday	Mk 5. 22-34;	κ.m.16	Mk 9. 33-41	Mk 5. 24-34	Mk 9. 33-41
Tuesday	Mk 6. 1-7;	κ.m.17	Mk 9. 42 – 10. 1	κ.m.17	Mk 9. 42-10. 1
Wednesday	Mk 6. 7-13;	κ.m.18	Mk 10. 2-16	κ.m.18	10. 2-16
Thursday	Mk 6. 30-45;	κ.m.19	Mk 10.17-27	κ.m.19	10. 17-27
Friday	Mk 6. 45-53;	κ.m.20	Mk 10.28-31	κ.m.20	10. 28-31
Saturday	Mt 24.1-13.			Mt 24.1-9 & 13	Mt 24. 1-13
Sunday 15th	Mt 22. 35-46;			Mt 22. 35-46	Mt 22. 35-46

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Monday	Mk 6. 54 – 7. 8.	κ.m.21	Mk 10.46-52	κ.m.21: 6.54-56; 7.1-½8	Mk 10. 46-52
Tuesday	Mk 7. 5-16.	κ.m.22	Mk 11. 11-21	κ.m.22	11. 11-21
Wednesday	Mk 7. 14-24.	κ.m.23	epsilon: 11. 22–26 all + Mt 7. 7-8: 'Ask and it will be given to you...'	κ.m.23	11. 22-26
Thursday	Mk 7. 24-30.	κ.m.24	Mk 11. 27-33	κ.m.24	11. 27-33
Friday	Mk 8. 1-10.	κ.m.25	Mk 12. 1-11	κ.m.25	12. 1.11 Ref to 13th Sund Mt
Saturday	Mt 24. 34-35. 42-44.			Mt 24. 34--44	Mt 24. 36.44 Ref to Great Tue, Vespers.
Sunday 16th	Mt 25. 14-30			Mt 25. 14-29 + 11. 15: 'He who has ears to hear...'	Mt 25. 14-29 + 11. 15: 'He who has ears to hear...'
Monday	No	No	Mk 12. 13-17	No	Mk 12. 13-17
Tuesday	No	No	Mk 12. 18-27	No	Mk 12. 18. Ref to Wedn 8th week
Wednesday	No	No	Mk 12. 28-37	No	Mk 12. 28-37
Thursday	No	No	Mk 12. 38-44	No	Mk 12. 38-44
Friday	No	No	Mk 13. 1-8	No	Mk 13. 1-9
Saturday	Mt 25. 1-13.			Mt 25. 1-13.	Mt 25. 1.13 Ref to Great Tue
Sunday 17th	Mt 15. 21-28. Sunday of the Canaanite woman. ℓ 292 and some other manuscripts have no reading for the Sunday 17th			Mt 15. 21-28.	Mt 15. 21-28.

Supplement 2

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Beginning Gospel of Luke					
Monday	Lk 3. 19-22.	κ. Λουκας 3. 19-22 (κ.λ.1)	Lk 3. 19-22.	Lk 3.19-22	Lk 3. 19-22
Tuesday	Lk 3.23 – 4.1	κ.λ.2	Lk 3.23 –4.1	Lk 3.23 –4.1	Lk 3.23 – 4.1
Wednesday	Lk 4. 1-15.	κ.λ.3	Lk 4. 1-15.	Lk 4. 1-15	Lk 4.1-15
Thursday	Lk 4. 16-22.	κ.λ.4	4. 16-½ 22	Lk 4. 16-22	Lk 4.16 (– ½ 22); ref. to 1 Sept.
Friday	Lk 4. 22-30	κ.λ.5	Lk 4. 23 -30	Lk 4. 22-30	Lk 4. 23-30
Saturday	Lk 4. 31-36.			Lk 4. 31-36	Lk 4. 31-36.
Sunday Lk 1st (18th)	Lk 5. 1-11.			Lk 5. 1-11	Lk 5. 1-11.
Monday	Lk 4. 38-44.	κ.λ.6	Lk 4. 38 – 44	Lk 4. 38-44;	Lk 4. 38-44
Tuesday	Lk 5. 12-16.	κ.λ.7	7. Lk 5. 12–16 is read in α, δ, η, ι. 8 in place of 7 is read in: β, ε, ζ, λ, μ.– inversion	κ. Λουκας (7) 5. 12–16	Lk, 5. 33.39; ref to Friday 10 after Pent. (sic! – inversion)
Wednesday	Lk 5. 33-39.	κ.λ.8	8. Lk 5. 33–39 in α, δ, η, ι. and 7. (Lk 5. 12–16) in place of 8 in: β, ε, ζ, λ, μ.– inversion	κ. Λουκας (8). 5. 33–39	Lk 5. 12-16 (sic! – inversion)
Thursday	Lk 6. 12-19 Scr	κ.λ.9	Lk 6. 12-16	Lk 6. 12-19	Lk 6. 12-16
Friday	Lk 6. 17-23	κ.λ.10	6. 17-½ 23	Lk 6. 17-23	Lk 6. 17 ref to 21 October
Saturday	Lk 5. 17-26			Lk 5. 17-26	Lk 5. 17-26
Sunday Lk 2d (19th)	Lk 6. 31-36.			Lk 6. 31-36	Lk 6. 31-36
Monday	Lk 6. 24-30.	κ.λ.11	Lk 6. 24-30	Lk 6. 24-30.	Lk 6.24-30
Tuesday	Lk 6. 37-45.	κ.λ.12	Lk 6. 37-45	Lk 6. 37-45.	Lk 6. 37-45.
Wednesday	Lk 6.46 – 7.1	κ.λ.13	Lk 6. 46-49	Lk 6.46 – 7.1	Lk 6. 46-49
Thursday	Lk 7. 17-30.	κ.λ.14	Lk 7. 17-29	Lk 7. 17-30.	7. 17-29
Friday	Lk 7. 31-35.	κ.λ.15	Lk 7. 31-35.	Lk 7. 31-35.	Lk 7. 31.35 Ref. to Thursd. 3d after Pent.
Saturday	Lk 5. 27-32.			Lk 5. 27-32.	Lk 5. 27-32.

Days of the liturgical year	**Gregory / Scrivener**	**Braith. ϰ**	**Braithwaite / Burns α β**	**Slav Mstislav Gospel**	**Slav Miroslav Gospel**
Sunday Luke 3d, (20th)	Lk 7. 11-16			Lk 7. 11-16	Lk 7. 11-16
Monday	Lk 7. 36-50.	κ.λ.16	Lk 7. 36-50.	Lk 7. 36-50	Lk 7. 36-50
Tuesday	Lk 8. 1-3.	κ.λ.17	Lk 8. 1-3.	Lk 8. 1-3	Lk 8. 1-3
Wednesday	Lk 8. 22-25.	κ.λ.18	Lk 8. 22-25.	Lk 8. 22-25	Lk 8. 22-25
Thursday	Lk 9. 7-11.	κ.λ.19	Lk 9. 7-11	Lk 9. 7-11	Lk 9. 7-11
Friday	Lk 9. 12-19.	κ.λ.20	Lk 9. 12-18	Lk 9. 12-18	Lk 9. 12-18
Saturday	Lk 6. 1-10.			Lk 6. 1-10	Lk 6. 1.10 Ref. to Mond. 4. after Pent.
Sunday Luke 4th, (21st)	Lk 8. 5-8. 9-15.			Lk 8. 4-15	Lk 8. 5.15 Ref. to Thursd. 4 after Pent.
Monday	Lk 9. 18-22	κ.λ.21	9. ½ 18 – 22	Lk 9. ½ 18 – 22	Lk 9. ½ 18 – 22
Tuesday	Lk 9. 23-27.	κ.λ.22	Lk 9. 23-27.	Lk 9. 23-27	Lk 9. 23.27 Ref. to Thursd.6 after Pent.
Wednesday	Lk 9. 43-50	κ.λ.23	Lk 9. 28-36	Lk 9. 43-50	Lk 9. 28.36 Ref. to Transfigura-tion
Thursday	Lk 9. 49-56	κ.λ.24	Lk 9. 43-56	Lk 9. 49-56	Lk 9. 44-56
Friday	Lk 10. 1-15.	κ.λ.25	Lk 10. 1-15	Lk 10. 1-15	Lk 10.1-15
Saturday	Lk 7. 1-10.			Lk 7. 1-10.	Lk 7. 1-10
Sunday Luke 5th (22d)	Lk 16. 9-31.			Lk 16. 19-31	Lk 16.19-31
Monday	Lk 10. 22-24.	κ.λ.26	Lk 10. 22-24	Lk 10. 22-24	Lk 10.22-24
Tuesday	Lk 11. 1-13 so Gregory; Scrivener: 11. 1-9.	κ.λ.27	Lk 11. 1-10	Lk 11. 1-10	Lk 11. 1–10
Wednesday	Lk 11. 9-13.	κ.λ.28	Lk 11. 9-13	Lk 11. 9-13	Lk 11. 9-13
Thursday	Lk 11. 14-23.	κ.λ.29	Lk 11. 14-23	Lk 11. 14-23	Lk 11. 14-23
Friday	Lk 11. 23-26.	κ.λ.30	Lk 11. 23-26	Lk 11. 23-26	Lk 11. 23-26
Saturday	Lk 8. 16-21.			Lk 8. 16-21	Lk 8. 16-21
Sunday Luke 6th (23d)	Lk 8. 27-35.			Lk 8. 27-39.	Lk 8. 41-56
Monday	Lk 11. 29-33	κ.λ.31	Lk 11. 29-33	Lk 11. 29-33	Lk 11. 29-33
Tuesday	Lk 11. 34-41	κ.λ.32	Lk 11. 34-42	Lk 11. 34-41	Lk 11. 34-42
Wednesday	Lk 11. 42-46	κ.λ.33	11. 43 – 12. 1	Lk 11. 42-46	Lk 11. 43-54; 12. 1

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Thursday	Lk 11. 47 – 12. 1.	κ.λ.34	Lk 12. 2-7	Lk 11. 47-54; 12. 1	Lk 12. 2.7 Ref to Tues. 3d after Pent.
Friday	Lk 12. 2-12	κ.λ.35	Lk 12. 22-31	Lk 12. 2-12	Lk 12. 22; 24-31
Saturday	Lk 9. 1-6.			Lk 9. 1-6	Lk 9. 1-6.
Sunday Luke 7th (24th)	Lk 8. 41-56			Lk 8. 41-56	Lk 8. 27-39 [Inversion of sundays!]
Monday	Lk 12.13–15; 22–31	κ.λ.36	Lk 12. 42-59	Lk 12. 13–15; 22–31	Lk 12. 47-59
Tuesday	Lk 12. 42-48	κ.λ.37	Lk 13. 2-9	Lk 12. 42-48	Lk 13. 1-9
Wednesday	Lk 12. 48-59.	κ.λ.38	Lk 13. 31-35	Lk 12. 48-59	Lk 13. 31-35
Thursday	Lk 13. 1-9.	κ.λ.39	Lk 14. 12-15	Lk 13. 1-9	Lk 14. 12-15
Friday	Lk 13. 31-35.	κ.λ.40	Lk 14. 26-35	Lk 13. 31-35	Lk 14.26-29; 31-35
Saturday	Lk 9. 37-43			Lk 9. 37-43	Lk 9. 37-43
Sunday Luke 8th (25th)	Lk 10. 25-37			Lk 10. 25-37	Lk 10. 25-37
Monday	Lk 14. 1. 12-15	κ.λ.41	Lk 15. 3-10	Lk 14. 1. 7-15	Lk 15. 3-10
Tuesday	Lk 14. 25-35.	κ.λ.42	Lk 16. 1-9	Lk 14. 25-26. 28-35	Lk 16. 1-9
Wednesday	Lk 15. 1-10	κ.λ.43	Lk 17. 20-30	Lk 15. 1-10	Lk 17. 20-30
Thursday	Lk 16. 1-9	κ.λ.44	Lk 17. 31-37	Lk 16. 1-9	Lk 17. 31-36
Friday	Lk 16. 15-18 and 17. 1-4	κ.λ.45	Lk 18. 29-34	Lk 16. 15-18. 17. 1-4	Lk 18. 29-34
Saturday	Lk 9. 57-62			Lk 9. 57-62	Lk 9. 57-62
Sunday Luke 9th (26th)	Lk 12. 16-21			Lk 12. 16-21	Lk 12.16-21
Monday	Lk 17. 20-25	κ.λ.46	Lk 19. 12-26	Lk 17. 20-25	Lk 19. 12-26
Tuesday	Lk 17. 26-37 and 18. 8	κ.λ.47	Lk 19. 39-48	Lk 17. 26-35. 37; 18. 8	Lk 19. 39-48
Wednesday	Lk 18. 15-17. 26-30	κ.λ.48	Lk 20. 1-8	Lk 18. 15-17. 26-30	Lk 20. 1-8
Thursday	Lk 18. 31-34	κ.λ.49	Lk 20. 9-18	Lk 18. 31-34	Lk 20. 9.18 Ref to Sund. 13th after Pent.
Friday	Lk 19. 12-28	κ.λ.50	Lk 20. 19-25	Lk 19. 12-24. 26-28	Lk 20. 19-26
Saturday	Lk 10. 19-21.			Lk 10. 19-21.	Lk 10. 19-21
Sunday Luke 10th (27th)	Lk 13. 10-17			Lk 13. 10-17	Lk 13.10-17

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Monday	Lk 19. 37–44.	κ.λ.51	Lk 20. 27-40	Lk 19. 29-44	Lk 21. 37; & 20. 27-40.
Tuesday	Lk 19. 45-48	κ.λ.52	Lk 21. 12-19	Lk 19. 45-48	Lk 21. 12-19
Wednesday	Lk 20. 1-8	κ.λ.53	Lk 21. 20-24	Lk 20. 1-8	Lk 21. 20–24
Thursday	Lk 20. 9-18	κ.λ.54	Lk 21. 28-32	Lk 20. 9-18	Lk 21. 28–32
Friday	Lk 20. 19-26	κ.λ.55	21. 37 – 22. 8	Lk 20. 19-26	Lk 21. 37-38; 22. 1-8
Saturday	Lk 12. 32-40			Lk 12. 32-40	Lk 12.32-40
Sunday Luke 11th (28th)	Lk 14. 16-24		End of the **Alpha** readings	Lk 14. 16-24	Lk 14.16–24
Monday	Lk 20. 27-44	κ.λ.56	β: Mk 1. 9-15	Lk 20. 27-44	Lk 20. 27.44. Ref. to Mond. 11. After New Year
Tuesday	Lk 21. 12-19; –20. 46	κ.λ.57	β: Mk 1. 16-22	Lk 21. 12-19	Lk 21. 12.19. Ref. to Tuesd. 11 after New Year
Wednesday	Lk 21. 5-8. 10. 11. 20-24	κ.λ.58	β: Mk 1. 23-28	Lk 21. 5-8; 10-11; 20-24.	Lk 21. 5-6; 20-24.
Thursday	Lk 21. 28-33;	κ.λ.59	β: Mk 1. 29-34	Lk 21. 24-33	Lk 21. 28.33. Ref to Thursd. 11. After New Y.
Friday	Lk 21. 37 – 22.8	κ.λ.60	β: Mk 2. 18-22	Lk 21. 37–38; 22. 1–8	Lk 21. 37.38; 22. 1.8. Ref to Frid. 11 after New Year
Saturday	Lk 13. 19-29.			Lk 13. 19-29.	Lk 13.19-29
Sunday Luke 12th (29th)	Lk 17. 12-19.			Lk 17. 12-19.	Lk 17. 12-19
Monday (Lk 13th)	**Hebdomades acc. to Mark** Mk 8. 11-21	κ. Μαρκ 26	β: Mk 3. 6-12	Mk 8. 11-21	Mk 8. 11.21. Ref to Wedn. 14 after Pent.
Tuesday (Lk)	Mk 8. 22-26	κ. Μαρκ 27	β: Mk 3. 13-27	Mk 8. 22-26	Mk 8. 22.26. Ref. to Thursd. 14 after Pent.
Wednesday (Lk)	Mk 8. 30-34	κ. Μαρκ 28	β: Mk 3. 28-35	Mk 8. 30-34	Ref. to Wedn. 6 after Pent.
Thursday (Lk)	Mk 9. 10-16	κ. Μαρκ 29	β: Mk 4. 1-9	Mk 9. 10-16	Mk 9. 10.16. Ref. to Frid. 14 after Pent.

Days of the liturgical year	**Gregory / Scrivener**	**Braith. κ**	**Braithwaite / Burns α β**	**Slav Mstislav Gospel**	**Slav Miroslav Gospel**
Friday (Lk)	Mk 9. 33-41	κ. Μαρκ 30	β: Mk 4.10-23	Mk 9. 33-41	Mk 9. 33.41. Ref. to Mond. 15 after Pent.
Saturday (Lk)	Lk 14. 1-11			Lk 14. 1-11	Lk 14. 1–14
Sunday Luke 13th (30th)	Lk 18. 18-27			Lk 18. 18-27	Lk. Ref to Sund 12 after Pent.
Monday (Lk 14th)	Mk 9. 42 – 10. 1.	κ. Μαρκ 31	β: 4. 24-34	Mk 9. 42-50; 10. 1	[Mk 9. 42.50; 10.1] Ref. to Tuesd. 15. after Pent.
Tuesday	Mk 10. 2-11.	κ. Μαρκ 32	β: 4. 35-41	Mk 10. 2-12	[Mk. 10. 2.12] Ref. to Wedn. 15 after Pent.
Wednesday	Mk 10. 11-16	κ. Μαρκ 33	β: 5. 1-20	Mk 10. 11-16; Miliatin: Mk 10. 11. 13–16	[Mk 10. 13.16] Ref. to Wedn. 15 after Pent. from half
Thursday	Mk 10. 17-27	κ. Μαρκ 34	β: 5. 22-34	Mk 10. 17-27	[Mk 10. 17.27] Ref. to Thurs. 15 after Pent.
Friday	Mk 10. 24-32	κ. Μαρκ 35	β: 5. 35 – 6.1	Mk 10. 24-32	[Mk.] Ref. to Thurs. 15 after Pent.; from half.
Saturday	Lk 16. 10-15		Lk 16. 10-15	Lk 16. 10-15	Lk 16. 10-15
Sunday Luke 14th (31st)	Lk 18. 35-43		Lk 18. 35-43	Lk 18. 35-43	Lk 18. 35-43
Monday	Mk 10. 46-52	κ. Μαρκ 36	β: 6. 2-13	Mk 10. 46-52	[Mk 10. 46.52] Ref. to Mond. 16 after Pent.
Tuesday	Mk 11. 11-23.	κ. Μαρκ 37	β: 6. 34-45	Mk 11. 11-23	[Mk 11. 11.] Ref. to Tuesd. 16 after Pent.
Wednesday	Mk 11. 22-26	κ. Μαρκ 38	β: 6. 45-53	Mk 11. 22-26	[Mk 11. 22.26] Ref. to Wedn. 16 after Pent.
Thursday	Mk 11. 27-33	κ. Μαρκ 39	β: 6.54 – 7.16	Mk 11. 27-33	[Mk 11. 27.33] Ref. to Thurs. 16 after Pent.
Friday	Mk 12. 1-12	κ. Μαρκ 40	β: 7. 17-24	Mk 12. 1-12	[Mk 12. 1.] Ref. to Frid. 16 after Pent.
Saturday	Lk 17. 3-10			Lk 17. 3-10	Lk 17. 3-10

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Sunday Luke 15th 32d)	Lk 19. 1-10 (Zacchaeus Sunday)			Lk 19. 1-10	Lk 19. 1-10 Zacchaeus Sunday
Monday (Luke 16th)	Mk 12. 13-17	κ. Μαρκ 41	β: 7. 24-30	Mk 12. 13-17	[Mk 12. 13.17] Ref. to Mond. 17 after Pent.
Tuesday	Mk 12. 18-27	κ. Μαρκ 42	β: 8. 1-10	Mk 12. 18-27	[Mk 12. 18.] Ref. to Tuesd. 17 after Pent.
Wednesday	Mk 12. 28-37	κ. Μαρκ 43	β: 8. 11-21	Mk 12. 28-37	[Mk 12.28.37] Ref. to Wedn. 17 after Pent.
Thursday	Mk 12. 38-44	κ. Μαρκ 44	β: 8. 22-26	Mk 12. 38-44	[Mk 12.38.44] Ref. to Thurs. 17 after Pent.
Friday	Mk 13. 1-9	κ. Μαρκ 45	β: 9. 10-16	Mk 13. 1-9	[Mk 13.1.9] Ref. to Frid. 17 after Pent.
Saturday 16th	Lk 18. 1-8			Lk 18. 2-8	Lk 18. 2-8
Sunday Luke 16th (33d)	Lk 18. 10-14 (9-14) Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee.			Lk 18. 10-14 the Publican and Pharisee	Lk 18. 10–14 the Publican and Pharisee
Monday	Mk 13. 9-13	κ. Μαρκ 46	β: Mk 9. 33-41	Mk 13. 9-13	Mk 13. 9-13
Tuesday	Mk 13. 14-23	κ. Μαρκ 47	β: 9.42 – 10.1	Mk 13. 14-23	[Mk 13. 14.23] Ref. to Mond. Holy Week
Wednesday	Mk 13. 24-31	κ. Μαρκ 48	β: 10. 2-16	Mk 13. 24-31	[Mk 13. 24.30] Ref. to Mond. Holy Week
Thursday	Mk 13. 31 – 14. 2.	κ. Μαρκ 49	β: 10. 17-27	Mk 13. 31–37; 14. 1–2.	Mk 13. 31–37; 14. 1–2
Friday	Mk 14. 3-9	κ. Μαρκ 50	β: 10. 28-31	Mk 14. 3-9	Mk 14. 3-9
Saturday 17th	Lk 20. 46 – 21. 4		β: Lk 20. 45 – 21. 4	Lk 20. 46–47; 21. 1 – 4	Lk 20. 46–47; 21. 1 – 4

Days of the liturgical year	**Gregory / Scrivener**	**Braith. κ**	**Braithwaite / Burns α β**	**Slav Mstislav Gospel**	**Slav Miroslav Gospel**
Sunday Luke 17th	**Some manuscripts**: Sunday of the Canaanite woman: Mt 15. 21–28; other manuscripts: Lk 15. 1–10 (of the lost sheep); or ***ℓ* 32** (and *ℓ* 263): Lk 15. 11–32 (of the prodigal son)			β: Sunday 17th, Mt 15 21–28 (of the Canaanite woman)	Lk 15. 11-32 (of the prodigal son)
Scrivener: Saturday before Carnival Lk 15. 1-10			Saturday 18th (Mt 24. 34) Ref. to Satur. 16th Mt.		
Scrivener: Sunday before Carnival Lk 15. 11-32			Sunday 18th, Lk 15. 11–32 (of the prodigal son)		
Monday	(Lk 18) Some manuscripts: αποκρεω – 'mjasopust'. Mk 11. 1-11			β: Hebd 7: Mk 10. 46-52	'mjasopust' Mk 11. 1-11
Tuesday	Mk 14. 10-42			β: Mk 11. 11-23	Mk 14. 10-42
Wednesday	Mk 14. 43	– 15. 1			β: Hebd 7: Mk 11. 22-26 & Mt 7. 7-8 ('Ask and it will be given to you...')
Thursday	Mk 15. 1-15			β: Hebd 7: Mk 11. 27-33	Mk 15. 1-15
Friday	Mk 15. 20.22.25.33-41			β: Hebd 7: Mk 12. 1-12	Mk 15. 20.22.25.33-41
Saturday	Sat. of the Last Judgment Lk 21. 8-9, 25-27, 33–36			β: Lk 17. 3-10	Saturday 'mjasopust', Lk 21. 8–9, 25-27, 33–36
Sunday	Sunday of the Last Judgment Mt 25. 31-46			β: Lk 15. 11–32 (of the prodigal son)	Sunday 'mjasopust'

Days of the liturgical year	Gregory / Scrivener	Braith. κ	Braithwaite / Burns α β	Slav Mstislav Gospel	Slav Miroslav Gospel
Mt 25. 31–46	Sunday 'mjaso-pust', ref to Great Tusday, Mt 25.31				
Monday (Cheese Fare, Carnival)	(Cheese–eater) Lk 19. 29–40. 22. 7–8, 39			Hebd 8: Mk 12. 13-17	Lk 19. 29–40; 22. 7–39
Tuesday	Lk 22. 39	– 23. 1			Hebd 8: Mk 12. 18-27
Wednesday	No reading for this day			β: Hebd 8: Mk 12. 28-37	No reading for this day
Thursday	Lk 23. 1-43, 44–56			β: Hebd 8: Mk 12. 38-44	Lk 23. 1–31, 33, 44–56
Friday	No reading for this day			β: Hebd 8: Mk 13. 1-9	No reading for this day
Saturday before the Great Lent	Mt 6. 1–13			Saturday (Cheese Fare) Mt 6. 1–13	Saturday (Cheese Fare) Mt 6. 1–13
Sunday before the Great Lent (Forgiveness Sunday)	Mt 6. 14–21			Sunday (Cheese Fare) before the Great Lent (Forgiveness Sunday) Mt 6. 14–21	Sunday (Cheese Fare) before the Great Lent (Forgiveness Sunday) Mt 6. 14–21

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PART 2:

HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE LITERATURE

The liturgical reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity.

The protohistory of the Byzantine lectionary

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Abstract

This paper examines and assesses the relevant external (literary) evidence concerning the liturgical reading of the Bible prior to the eighth century, the period of which date the oldest Byzantine lectionaries and biblical manuscripts that contain liturgical information. In the first part, the much-debated question of the origins and the early development of the liturgical reading of the Bible in the first three centuries CE is discussed. It turns out that this reading exhibited a very flexible and variegated character. In the second part, a picture is sketched of the different systems of liturgical reading of the Bible that developed in the fourth and fifth centuries in the Greek-speaking regions in which Greek biblical manuscripts were produced, more in particular in Antioch (with a short foray into the regions east of that city which were for a major part Syriac-speaking), Jerusalem, Egypt and Constantinople. It is pointed out that considerable differences existed between the various regions, especially with regard to the Old Testament or the role played by the continuous reading of the Bible. In many cases, it will be possible to formulate plausible hypotheses on the basis of the evidence available about the liturgical setting in which certain Greek biblical manuscripts that date of the fourth and fifth centuries and do not contain paratextual liturgical information, have been used. This presupposes, however, that one possesses reliable information about the provenance of the manuscript concerned.

1. Introduction

A leading idea underlying the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme is that the majority of the Byzantine biblical and patristic manuscripts were intended for use in the liturgy and that, therefore, the codicological forms of these manuscripts are closely related to their liturgical function.

It is not difficult to prove the legitimacy of this principle for the Greek Byzantine biblical manuscripts that date from the period after the seventh or eighth century. From that period onwards there is abundant evidence of Gospel and *Apostolos* lectionaries[1] as well as *Prophetologia*[2]. The earliest examples of Greek Byzantine *Tetraevangelia* that contain paratextual information related to the liturgy date from this same

[1] See the lists of lectionaries compiled by C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des neuen Testaments*, Erster Band, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 378-487 and K. Aland (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage,* Berlin-New York, 1994, pp. 219-370. There are some very early manuscripts and even papyri that probably suppose a liturgical reading system, but these sources originate from Egypt and therefore reflect Egyptian rather than Byzantine liturgical traditions. Cf. K. Junack, 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Ueberlieferung der katholischen Briefe' in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare. Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihrer Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte,* ed. by K. Aland, Berlin-New York, 1972, pp. 498-589, esp. pp. 506-512. See also P. Hedley, 'The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and Acts', *The Church Quarterly Review,* 118 (1934), pp. 24-39 and pp. 188-230.

[2] The oldest manuscripts containing prophetologia date from the ninth century. Cf. the edition by C. Høeg, G. Zuntz and G. Engberg (eds.), *Prophetologion I-II*, (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria), Copenhagen, 1939-1981, and S. G. Engberg, 'The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin*, 54 (1987), pp. 39-48.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 155-172.

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era. Unfortunately, the situation is less clear with regard to the liturgical reading of the Bible prior to the eighth century. The main problem is that the Greek biblical manuscripts that date from this period do not contain any paratextual information concerning the liturgical functions these manuscripts might have fulfilled[3].

Theoretically, there are three ways of accounting for this remarkable fact. One possible explanation might be that most of the earliest manuscripts were intended for use in non-liturgical settings. Neither lectionaries nor extensive liturgical indications would have been of any practical use. Another possible solution might be that biblical books were primarily used in liturgical contexts, but that the choice of the pericopes was more or less free and was left to the decision of the leaders presiding over the liturgical celebrations. This would exclude the existence of lectionaries and liturgical indications would have been of no use. Finally, the early manuscripts – or at least most of them – may have been used in conjunction with an elaborate reading system, but they may not have left any visible traces in the manuscripts. It has to be assumed that Caspar R. Gregory took this for granted when he made his audacious and speculative attempt to trace the origins of the later Byzantine Sunday, Saturday and even the weekday cycles of the Gospel and the Apostolos back to the second century[4].

Most scholars now would agree that neither of these solutions is satisfactory. Biblical books no doubt were used in various settings in early Christianity, but the importance of liturgical meetings for the reception of the Bible by (early) Christian communities as well as by individual Christians cannot be denied. How did the majority of the Christians, who could afford no books or even could not read them, come into contact with the Bible? Second, the writings of church fathers as well as the earliest examples of lectionaries – which cover only the most central parts of the liturgical year and often offer the possibility of choosing between alternative lections – unequivocally show that bishops and presbyters presiding at liturgical meetings enjoyed a lot of freedom in selecting biblical pericopes[5]. Still, the development of the liturgical year and the ongoing standardisation of liturgical traditions, which began in the third and fourth century, inevitably furthered the tendency to structure the liturgical reading of the Bible. For example, certain biblical passages were prescribed for specific festivals and periods during the year. On the other hand, assuming, as Gregory did, that fixed systems of lections existed from a very period onwards, but did not leave traces in the sources which have come down to us, is mere speculation. The only way to obtain more clarity about this situation is to turn to the available *external* evidence which contains information concerning the liturgical reading of the Bible. I mean evidence that is based upon sources other than the Byzantine *biblical* manuscripts themselves. Pride of place should be given to sources deriving from Constantinople and from a city that is known to have played an important role in the development of the liturgical traditions of that city, namely Antioch. However, the evidence that can be drawn from Antiochene and Constantinopolitan sources is rather scant. A comparison with data derived from other regions – in particular from Jerusalem but also from the Syriac-speaking regions and Egypt – may help us to place the Constantinopolitan and Antiochene evidence in a broader historical perspective. Once the external evidence has been studied, we may ask to what extent it fits in with the contents of the codices, in particular with the way in which the biblical books and the lessons taken from them have been selected and combined.

Before addressing this issue, I shall make some observations about a somewhat wider question which concerns the origins of the liturgical reading of the Bible and its earliest development in the first three centuries. Actually, this much-debated and complicated question has had a considerable impact upon

[3] See K. Junack 1972, pp. 514-515. See also Y. Burns, 'The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 32/4 (1982), pp. 119-127, esp. p. 124.

[4] See. C. R. Gregory 1900, I, pp. 336-338.

[5] See for instance the Syriac lectionary of British Library (14528) (F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, Proceedings of the British Academy 10 (1923), pp. 301-338 (reprint: Analecta Gorgiana 62, Piscataway 2007).

most studies dealing with liturgical cycles of biblical readings, even with those of much later periods. In a few of these studies, assumptions concerning the origins of the liturgical reading of the Bible in Christianity, which incidentally often betray specific ecclesiastical or theological positions, prove to play a considerable role. Therefore, I shall first try to clarify the stance I take with regard to this question[6].

2. Theories about the origins of the liturgical reading of the Bible in early Christianity (first three centuries).

In the rather extensive secondary literature dealing with the origins and earliest development of the liturgical reading of the Bible, two major tendencies may be identified that have profoundly affected the character of the discussions.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a large number of scholars emphasised the continuity between the reading of the Bible in early Christianity and the reading of the Torah and the Prophets in the Synagogue[7]. Most of these scholars embraced the view that, from a very early period onwards, the weekly celebration of the Eucharist on Sunday would have comprised a 'service of the Word' attested by Justin's First Apology (ch. 66), which would have had its roots in the reading of the Torah and the Prophets on the Shabbath. The Christians would have taken over the Jewish service, while moving it from the Shabbath to the first day of the week and adding readings taken from the New Testament which was in the making at that time. Yet the New Testament pericopes began gradually displacing the lections from the Old Testament. In some liturgical traditions (for instance, in Gaul, Spain and perhaps in Rome) this reading became limited in the eucharistic celebrations to passages taken from the Prophets. In Coptic, Roman and Byzantine traditions, the reading of the Prophets disappeared completely or occurred only very exceptionally. Some liturgical traditions, namely the East and West Syrian rites, would have remained faithful to what was considered to have been a very ancient Christian practice. It may be noted here that Gregory's attempt to trace back the Byzantine cycle of Gospel readings to the second century was basically dependent on this overall view of the development of early Christian liturgical reading of the Bible. Gregory posits without adding further argumentation that, at a certain moment, the Old Testament lections were replaced with New Testament ones and the Byzantine cycle might have originated at that time[8].

This widespread view has, however, been called into question and rejected by some scholars like Walter Bauer[9] and Gerhard Kunze[10], who argued that the liturgical practices of the Synagogue would only have been preserved by Jewish Christians. By contrast, Gentile Christians would have shaped their liturgical meetings in a spirit of freedom, independent from any existing tradition, Jewish or otherwise. This implied that their meetings did not comprise a regular fixed reading of Scripture. According to these authors, more structured cycles of New Testament readings, which might have been combined with

[6] I have dealt with this issue more extensively in my article: G. ROUWHORST, 'The Reading of Scripture in Early Christian Liturgy', in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem*, ed. by L. RUTGERS, Leuven, 2002, pp. 305-331.

[7] I want to limit myself here to mentioning some classical and influential studies: A. BAUMSTARK, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie,* Freiburg, 1923, pp. 15-17 (English translation by FRITZ WEST: *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy,* Collegeville 2011, pp. 64-66); A. BAUMSTARK, *Liturgie comparée,* Chevetogne, 1953³, pp. 26-27, p. 50; L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1925, pp. 48-49; H. LIETZMANN, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, Berlin, 1926, esp. p. 211; G. DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London, 1945, pp. 36-37; J. JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, Vienna, 1952³, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

[8] See the reference made in footnote 4.

[9] W. BAUER, *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen,* Tübingen, 1930.

[10] G. KUNZE, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung. Stand und Aufgaben der Perikopenforschung*, Göttingen, 1947; G. KUNZE, 'Die Lesungen', in *Leiturgia. Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes,* Kassel, 1955, pp. 87-180, esp. 103-126.

lections taken from the Prophets, would have developed at a later date and completely independently from the Synagogue. As for the reading traditions of some Syrian communities, which were attested by the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the later Syrian churches, they were explained as being the result of secondary Judaising tendencies.

In the light of recent research on the relationship between early Christian and Jewish liturgical traditions and on the basis of the evidence available at this moment, it has to be concluded that neither of these theories still holds. One of the most serious objections that can be raised against the first view is that it is founded upon a reconstruction of the liturgy of the Synagogue at the beginning of the Common Era that, during the last few decades, has turned out more and more to be flawed. It has been wrongly supposed that the liturgical traditions of the Synagogue would have already obtained a fixed shape in the period when Christianity emerged before or after the destruction of the Second Temple[11]. Admittedly, there can be no doubt that the introduction of a regular and continuous reading of the Torah on the Sabbath predates the emergence of Christianity. Evidence that passages from the Prophets were read at the Synagogue includes the Gospel of Luke (4. 16-20). Still, it is highly unlikely that fixed triennial or annual cycles of readings, which are attested by later sources and in which each passage of the Torah was combined with a fixed haftara reading taken from the prophets and a psalm, already existed at that time. Instead of projecting evidence drawn from these later sources back into the first or second centuries CE, one should reckon with the existence of a great variety of local practices, which were more flexible. If Jewish practice itself, then, already presents a variegated picture, this may be expected to have been even more the case with early Christianity which consisted of a great variety of communities, some of them being more deeply rooted in Judaism than others. Finally, it may be added that the relationship between the 'service of the Word' preceding the eucharistic meal and the reading from the Torah and the prophets on the Shabbath is far from clear. One may note in this connection that a number of authors have pointed recently to the similarities that exist between the liturgical meetings of the first Christians and Hellenistic symposia and, on this basis, have argued that the reading and explanation of the Bible might have developed in the ritual setting of the symposia rather than in that of the services held on Shabbath[12]. The discussion about this question has certainly not yet been settled, but it at least questions the presumption that the reading of the Bible in the early Christian communities that did not predominantly consist of Christians with a Jewish background, can be directly traced back to the traditions of the Synagogue.

The second hypothesis gives rise to some serious objections as well. The almost lyrical descriptions of the initial freedom of spirit, which one comes across in some publications, betray an ideological and sometimes even anti-Jewish bias[13]. One may also discern a tendency to generalise on the basis of some specific situations, for example, the pattern found in the early Christian community of Corinth as a representative of what was going on in every 'Gentile-Christian' community. Moreover, the suggestion that the regular reading from the Old Testament found in the surroundings of Antioch and in the Syriac-speaking areas would have been due to 'secondary' Judaising tendencies is nothing more than mere speculation, which is not sustained by any clear evidence.

[11] See especially P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship,* London, 2002. See also G. Rouwhorst, 'Christliche und jüdische Liturgie. Christlicher Gottesdienst und der Gottesdienst Israels. Forschungsgeschichte, historische Interaktionen, Theologie', in *Theologie des Gottesdienstes*, ed. by M. Klöckener, A. Häusling, R. Messner, Regensburg, 2008, pp. 491-502.

[12] See for example M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft. Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlzeiten,* Tübingen-Basel, 1996; D. E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist. The Eucharist in the Early Christian World,* Minneapolis, 2002; V. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering. Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries,* Leiden-Boston, 2010. See also G. Rouwhorst, 'The Roots of the Early Christian Eucharist: Jewish Blessings or Hellenistic Symposia?', in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship. New Insights into Its History and Interaction,* ed. by A. Gerhards, C. Leonhard, Leiden-Boston, 2007, pp. 295-308.

[13] See for example W. Bauer, 1930, *Der Wortgottesdienst,* esp. p. 64.

3. The evidence for a liturgical reading of the Bible in the first three centuries CE

Are we left completely in the dark concerning the earliest development of the liturgical reading of the Bible in Christianity? There are a number of conclusions that can be deduced with a reasonable degree of certainty from the scarce evidence available.

1. It is very likely that the communities, which were predominantly *Jewish Christian,* continued the custom of reading the Torah and probably the prophets on the Shabbath. In principle, Jewish-Christian communities may have carried on this tradition as long as they existed[14]. It is also very natural to assume that, from a certain moment onwards, passages from the New Testament, for instance from the Gospels, were added to the lections taken from the Torah and the prophets. Yet, there is no sense speculating about the precise character of the cycles they followed due to the lack of reliable evidence.
2. The situation was different in communities in which Christians converted from paganism were in the majority. No allusion is made to the reading of the Torah or the Prophets in the earliest source that allows us to catch a glimpse of the meetings of a predominantly Gentile Christian community, namely Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (chps. 11-14)[15]. The liturgical activities described in this passage (prophecy, glossolalia, and the singing of hymns) have no direct parallel in contemporaneous Synagogue services. This means that nothing can be said with any certainty about the existence of a more or less regular reading from the Old Testament in those meetings. *If* it existed, which cannot be excluded, its form and character must have differed from the practices current in synagogues[16]. The situation would have been very similar in many other communities consisting of Christians from paganism.
3. Assuming that in the beginning the majority of the predominantly Gentile Christian communities were not familiar with a regular liturgical reading of the Old Testament, it could not have taken very long for this element to start featuring in their liturgical meetings. How else would Christians have obtained knowledge of the Jewish Bible, which increasingly played a role in theological discussions? It would have been very natural that lections from the Old Testament were introduced, along with texts taken from the Gospels and the Epistles. Perhaps evidence of this development is already provided by the author of the post-Pauline epistles to Timothy who makes mention of divinely inspired Scripture which is useful for teaching (2 Timothy 3. 15-16) and moreover of a 'reading' followed by an admonition and instruction (1 Timothy 4. 13). Here the term 'Scripture' certainly is meant to refer to the Greek Old Testament. Therefore, it is rather natural to assume that the texts read according to 1 Timothy 4.13 were taken from or at least could have been taken from the divinely inspired Old Testament (possibly in combination with other writings, for instance the letters of Paul)[17].
4. From the second period of liturgical development onwards it became common practice in various Christian communities to begin the celebration of the Eucharist with the 'Liturgy of the Word', which included a reading, and an explanation of biblical texts.

   The earliest evidence for this practice is provided by Justin Martyr's description of the Sunday Eucharist *(First Apology*, ch. 65-67). Justin makes mention of a reading from the 'memories of the

[14] See my remarks about Acts 15.21 (G. Rouwhorst 2002, p. 319). I strongly suggest that not only the non-Christians, but also the 'Christian Jews'(or Jewish Christians) were reading the books of Moses every Sabbath.

[15] See for the following remarks: G. Rouwhorst, 2002, pp. 320-321.

[16] Contra Salzmann (J. C. Salzmann, *Lehren und Ermahnen: Zur Geschichte des christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten,* Tübingen, 1990, pp. 75-77) who emphasises the possible similarity with the synagogue services.

[17] See also V. Alikin 2010, pp. 163-165.

apostles or the writings of the prophets as long as the time permits' (ch. 66). The details given by Justin are rather vague and there can be no doubt that they presuppose a very flexible practice. The only thing that can be deduced from the passage is that one read either from the New Testament (apostles) or from the Old Testament (prophets)[18]. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the possibility of reading from either book is considered to be self-evident. Noteworthy is also the use of the word 'prophets' that most probably refers to the entire Old Testament understood as a book containing prophecies about Christ and the Church.

Contrary to what is suggested by several scholars, additional data concerning the development of this 'service of the Word' are extremely rare. It is for instance not clear at all whether Tertullian was familiar with the type of Eucharist underlying Justin's *Apology*. It is very uncertain whether he knew of a eucharistic celebration other than the so-called '*agape*' described by him in his *Apologeticum*, ch. 39, which was held in the evening and conformed to the pattern of a Christian symposium (communal meal).[19] It should be noted that it is far from certain that the celebrations which, according to Tertullian, were held in the morning, were actually 'Eucharists', as has been assumed by many scholars. Recently, Andrew McGowan and Paul Bradshaw have posited on the basis of strong arguments that these liturgical meetings were communion services consisting of a distribution of the eucharistic elements consecrated in the preceding evening[20]. We cannot know whether this type of eucharistic meal included biblical readings, besides the psalms which, according to the *Apologeticum,* were sung during the eucharistic supper. Tertullian occasionally alludes to a reading of Scriptures that took place in a liturgical setting (*De anima* 9,4; *De praescriptione haereticorum* 36), but it remains hard to identify the type of service of which they were a part. The passages could have been read during the evening Eucharist or during the communion service in the morning. One cannot exclude the possibility that this happened at other occasions, for instance in separate services of the Word[21].

From other sources dating from the second and third century hardly any additional indications can be extracted concerning the reading from the Bible during the Eucharist. The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, such as those of Thomas and John, do not make any allusion to it. Since Origen preached about the New Testament during eucharistic celebrations, it may be deduced that he was familiar with a regular reading of the New Testament – more particularly so in the first part of the Eucharist –, but one looks in vain for further details concerning the way this liturgical reading took place[22]. A similar observation can be made with regard to the writings of Cyprian. It emerges that by the middle of the third century in North Africa the Eucharist was celebrated in the morning and, moreover, that the first part of the celebration included a reading from the Bible[23]. Yet, further details about the lections that were selected, are lacking. The only thing that becomes clear is that the reading of the Gospel had a prominent place.

5. There is very scarce evidence of the existence of *festal pericopes*, that is lections connected with specific Christian festivals. The sole case unambiguously attested by sources of the first three centuries is that of the Easter Vigil which at a very early period comprised the reading of Exodus 12,

[18] See for the interpretation of this passage J. C. Salzmann 1990, pp. 246-247; G. Rouwhorst 2002, p. 326.

[19] See M. Klinghardt 1996, p. 515, who states that the meal described in *Apologeticum,* 39 was the only 'central meal' known to the Christians of Carthage. The same position is defended by P. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 97-103.

[20] A. McGowan, 'Rethinking Agape and Eucharist in North African Christianity', *Studia Liturgica,* 34 (2004), pp. 165-176; P. Bradshaw 2004, pp. 99-103.

[21] See P. Bradshaw 2004, *p.* 102. For the passages mentioned see also J. C. Salzmann 1990, p. 388 and p. 416.

[22] For the scarce data that can be derived from the works of Origen, see J. C. Salzmann 1990, pp. 430-438.

[23] See V. Saxer, *Vie liturgique et quotidienne à Carthage vers le milieu du IIIe siècle,* Città del Vaticano, 1969, pp. 218-227; J. C. Salzmann 1990, pp. 438-445.

probably in combination with parts of one of the New Testament Passion Narratives and with other Old Testament 'prophecies'.[24] The antiquity of other festal pericopes that are often claimed to go back to a very early date (for instance Exodus 19 for Pentecost) is very questionable[25]. Further, there is no evidence of Jewish festal pericopes having been taken over by Christians. It appears that even the reading of Exodus 12 in the Easter Vigil cannot be adduced as an example of a direct continuity between Jewish and early Christian liturgy. Of course, Jewish Passover commemorates and celebrates the liberation of the Jewish people from Egypt. Yet, Exodus 12 does not feature in the Seder celebrated at home and it was not read at Passover in the Synagogue. It was probably a Christian invention. One may even hazard the guess that Jews perhaps avoided this lection because it was used and interpreted from a Christian perspective[26].

6. Along with the first part of the Eucharist and the Paschal Vigil, we also find traces of services that were exclusively devoted to the reading and the explanation of Scripture. With regard to the first three centuries, our main witness is Origen, who is the author of a large number of homilies that were delivered in Caesarea on weekdays. These homilies followed the texts of biblical books the majority being a part of the Old Testament. These series of homilies, which form a more or less continuous commentary of the biblical books, were held in the setting of a liturgical service, the core of which was formed by the continuous reading of entire liturgical books[27]. Unfortunately, we only have sparse information about the origins and the background of this practice. We do not precisely know how it was organised, for example, whether the entire Bible was read and explained within a certain period of one or more years. Moreover, it is unknown how widespread this phenomenon was.

4. The liturgical reading of the Bible in Antioch, Jerusalem, Egypt and Constantinople from the fourth to the seventh century

It will have become clear from the foregoing that prior to the fourth century the liturgical reading of the Bible played a pivotal role in early Christianity, but at the same time exhibited a very flexible and variegated character. This is hardly surprising, given the multiform and variegated character of early Christianity as well as the embryonic state of the liturgical year in that period. By contrast, the fourth and fifth centuries reveal an increasing standardisation and ritualisation of liturgical traditions and a remarkable development of the liturgical calendar. All this had a great impact upon and was reflected in the liturgical reading of the Bible. This also holds for the Greek-speaking regions in which Greek biblical manuscripts were produced. I shall sketch a picture of the different systems of liturgical reading of the Bible that developed in these regions, especially in the major liturgical centres which played an important role in the formation of the various eastern liturgical rites: Antioch (with a short foray into the regions east of that city which were for a major part Syriac-speaking), Jerusalem, Egypt and Constantinople.

[24] See for instance H. J. auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit,* Regensburg, 1983, p. 68. For the oldest, Quartodeciman form of the Paschal Vigil, celebrated in the night from 14 to 15 Nisan, see also G. Rouwhorst, 'The Quartodeciman Passover and the Jewish Pesach', *Questions liturgiques,* 77(1996), pp. 152-173.

[25] G. Rouwhorst, 'The Origins and Evolution of Early Christian Pentecost', *Studia Patristica,* 35 (2001), pp. 309-322.

[26] This interesting suggestion has been put forward by I. Yuval, 'Easter and Passover as Jewish-Christian Dialogue', in *Passover and Easter. Origin and History to Modern Times,* ed. by P. Bradshaw, L. Hoffman, Notre Dame, 1999, pp. 98-124, esp. p. 109.

[27] See for these sermons and these services in particular: J. C. Salzmann 1990, pp. 430-438. See also P. Nautin, *Origène. Sa vie et son oeuvre,* Paris, 1977, pp. 391-401.

4.1 Antioch

A number of texts that were written by John Chrysostom in the period when he was a priest in Antioch form the most reliable evidence for the liturgical reading of the Bible in Antioch. They are the only sources that directly and indisputably relate to the reading practice current in the city of Antioch during Chrysostom's lifetime[28].

It appears that during the celebration of the Eucharist, three biblical lessons were read which were successively taken from the 'Prophet', the Epistles and the Gospels[29]. Contrary to what has sometimes been suggested[30], evidence for a regular lection being taken from the Pentateuch is lacking[31]. There is no reason to assume that such a reading would have disappeared at an earlier period. Still, it may be asked how the word 'Prophet' should be understood here. Frans van de Paverd has argued that the word 'Prophet' should be interpreted in the strict – that is, in the modern – sense of the word[32] and not as a reference to the entire Old Testament, as was the case in Justin's *First Apology*. His argument, however, seems to be based upon rather slim textual evidence. In my view, the possibility that other books of the Old Testament were read, for instance those by the 'prophet' Moses, cannot be excluded.

There is no doubt that fixed pericopes existed for the great festivals. It proves, however, impossible to reconstruct these festal lessons.[33] During the period of Lent, the book of Genesis was read on weekdays in non-eucharistic services, following the principle of *lectio continua* (continuous reading).[34] During Pentecost, the Acts of the Apostles were read in the same way (following the principle of continuous reading)[35].

Apart from the homilies on Genesis, the works of John Chrysostom include several series of homilies devoted to other biblical books, especially the Psalms, the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, and the Pauline Epistles[36]. It seems very likely that the biblical passages that were commented upon, were actually read prior to the sermons and, as a corollary, selected according to the principle of *lectio (semi-) continua*. Furthermore, it may be surmised that they were part of eucharistic celebrations, although other possibilities cannot be excluded. Unfortunately, we do not know how frequently the principle of continuous reading was followed, for instance whether it was a very common phenomenon or a rather marginal one, whether it was connected with certain periods of the year and so on. One is, however, struck by a remarkable fact: with the exception of the Psalms, all the books to which the series of Chrysostom's homilies are devoted, have been drawn from the New Testament. One may note here a remarkable difference with Origen, who commented on the major part of the Old Testament in his sermons. If a continuous or

[28] The evidence which is provided by John Chrysostom concerning the liturgical reading of the Bible especially during the Eucharist has been assembled and studied in detail by F. van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Analyse der Quellen bei Johannes* Chrysostomos, Roma, 1970, pp. 94-129 (this part deals with the sources belonging to Chrysostom's Antiochene period).

[29] F. van de Paverd 1970, pp. 97-98.

[30] Thus for instance R. Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomos*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1974, p. 80. The author bases his position mainly upon the assumption that the Apostolic Constitutions, which indeed make mention of a twofold Old Testament reading, are representative of Antiochene liturgical practices.

[31] F. van de Paverd, pp. 106-108.

[32] F. van de Paverd, pp. 97-98.

[33] See. F. van de Paverd, p. 115, footnote 2.

[34] See the homilies edited in Migne PG 53, 21-384; 54, 581-620. Cf. F. van de Paverd, 1970, pp. 98-99 and R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems,* Münster, 1968, pp. 133-137.

[35] See the fourth sermon on the Acts of the Apostles, PG 51, 97-112, esp. 101 (ch.3). See also F. van de Paverd 1970, p. 115, footnote 3.

[36] See for instance B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter,* Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1993[8], p. 325; R. Kaczynski, 'Johannes Chrysostomos', in *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, ed. by S. Döpp, W. Geerlings, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1999[2], pp. 336-343, esp. pp. 339-340.

semi-continuous reading of biblical (New Testament) books might have once[37] been current in Antioch, it must have been abandoned at a rather early period, since the cathedral homilies held by Severus of Antioch between 512-518 presuppose the existence of a system of selected lections (at least for the Sunday Eucharist).

4.2 East of Antioch: the Apostolic Constitutions and the Syriac-speaking churches

The regions east and north-east of Antioch that were in part Syriac-speaking or bilingual offer a different picture with regard to the liturgical reading of the Bible. The differences with the liturgical practice in Antioch relate to the prominent role of the Old Testament.

In this connection, mention should be made first of all of the *Apostolic Constitutions,* which were composed in Greek at the end of the fourth century in a region not too far removed from Antioch. This explains why they have often been considered as evidence for Antiochene practices, sometimes in combination with the writings of John Chrysostom[38].

What is most striking in the passages dealing with the reading of Scripture during the Eucharist is that they explicitly make reference to four lections: readings from the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles and the Gospels (see II, 39, 6 and VIII, 5, 11-12). The Law may be the five books of Moses. However, another passage of the *Apostolic Constitutions* indicates that lections could be collected from all the books of the Old Testament, from the 'books of Moses' to 'those written after the return from captivity', including the 'books of Job and Solomon' (II, 57,5).

A similar system seems to underlie a document that was written in Syriac, namely the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which probably dates from the fourth century. According to this source, the apostles would have determined that 'on the bema of the church nothing should be read except the Old Testament, the Prophets, the Gospel and the Acts of the Triumphs of the Apostles'[39]. This passage does not intend to give the sequence of the lections that should be read during the Eucharist. That it does not precisely reflect a liturgical order is also apparent from the position of the Acts of the Apostles after the Gospel. It is noteworthy that four lections are mentioned, two of them being taken from what we would call the 'Old Testament' and two from the New Testament. This fits in remarkably well with the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This being said, one may note at least two rather surprising peculiarities. First of all, one is struck by the curious distinction that is being made between the Old Testament and the Prophets, as if the Prophets were no part of the Old Testament. Could it be that the first term meant to be an alternative for 'Law' or for one of its synonyms? An even more amazing feature is that the Apostle remains unmentioned. Does this source reflect a liturgical tradition that was not familiar with a regular reading from the epistles?

Actually, there is another document derived from the same region, the Syriac *Doctrina Addai*, which also seems to suggest this. It contains the following remarkable passage that the author places in the mouth of Addai, who is on the point of dying:

> 'As for the Torah (Syr. *awritha*), the prophets and the Gospel that you are reading every day in front of the people, and the letters of Paul which Simon Peter sent you from Rome, the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John, the son of Zebedee sent you from Ephesus, read all those books in the churches of Christ'[40].

[37] See P. M. Gy, 'La question du système de lectures de la liturgie byzantine', in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S. E. il Cardinale G. Lercaro,* T. II, Rome, 1967, pp. 251-261, esp. pp. 257-258.

[38] See for instance J. Jungmann 1952, I, p. 505; R. Kaczynski 1974, p. 80. See also above, footnote 29.

[39] For the edition of the Syriac text and translation, see W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents,* reprint: Piscataway, 2005, p. 27; A. Vööbus, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (CSCO 401/402), Leuven, 1979, p. 44 (402, p. 38).

[40] G. Phillips, (ed.) *The Doctrine of Addai*, London, 1876, p. 46. French translation: A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et Jésus,* Turnhout, 1993, p. 108.

What is very remarkable is that among the biblical books recommended for reading a distinction is made between on the one hand those that are explicitly said to be read every day – the 'Torah, the Prophets and the Gospel' – and on the other hand the epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles. Should we conclude from this that the epistles and the Acts did not belong to the nucleus of the books that had to be read every day in front of the people? Were they read less frequently in liturgical meetings and not on a regular basis?

The data provided by both sources have in common the following features: a) They are familiar with a subdivision of the Old Testament between the prophets and the non-prophetic parts, with the latter one being designated either by the word 'Torah' or the rather odd term 'Old Testament'; b) These two parts appear to form, in combination with the Gospel, the heart of the liturgical reading of the Bible. It seems at least probable that in the liturgical meetings of the Syriac churches it was customary to combine a lection taken from the Gospel with a twofold reading from the Old Testament, namely the Torah and the Prophets; c) The books of the New Testament other than the Gospels play a minor role in the liturgy. In the *Doctrine of the Apostles* they are not even mentioned. Finally, this system bears a close resemblance to that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, with only this difference that in those writings the lections from the Apostles have obtained a well-defined position as epistles preceding the readings from the Gospel.

It would be interesting to pursue the further development of the East- and West-Syriac lectionaries which unanimously attest to the custom of reading during the Eucharist at least two lections taken from the Old Testament, usually with at least one of them being taken from the non-prophetic and one from the prophetic books. It would also be interesting to further explore the relationship with the reading of the Torah and the prophets in the Jewish Synagogues on Shabbath[41]. This, however, would exceed the purpose of this article.

4.3 Jerusalem and Palestine

We are better informed about the situation in the city of Jerusalem and its surroundings. This is directly due to the remarkable development of the pilgrimages to the Christian holy places which led to a rapid increase of commemorations and festivals directly connected with those places and the biblical events that were associated with them. The selection of fixed biblical lections for each of these commemorations led to a remarkably advanced and detailed reading system, the development of which can be reconstructed on the basis of two extremely valuable sources that have been preserved in Armenian and Georgian, namely the so-called (old) Armenian lectionary[42] and the Georgian *Kanonarion*[43]. Both sources contain an overview of the liturgical feasts and celebrations that were held during the liturgical year and indicate the incipits of the biblical passages to be read or sung. The various manuscripts transmitting the Armenian lectionary represent the liturgical custom that was current in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. The *Kanonarion* reflects the development of liturgical practice in Jerusalem from the fifth to eighth century[44].

While studying these sources, one may make the following observations with regard to the liturgical reading of the Bible:

[41] See G. Rouwhorst, 'Les lectionnaires syriaques', in *La lecture liturgique des Épîtres catholiques dans l'Église ancienne,* C.-B. Amphoux, J.-P. Bouhot, Lausanne, 1996, pp. 105-140; G. Rouwhorst, 'Jewish Liturgical Traditions in Early Syriac Christianity', *Vigiliae Christianae,* 51 (1997), pp. 72-93, esp. pp. 77-78; G. Rouwhorst, 2002, pp. 328-331.

[42] Critical edition with French translation: *Le codex arménien Jérusalem, 121, (*Patrologia Orientalis, 35.1 and 36.2), vols. I-II, ed. by C. Renoux, Turnhout, 1969/1971.

[43] Critical edition with Latin translation: *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIIe siècle),* (CSCO 188/189 and 204/205), ed. by M. Tarchnischvili, Leuven, 1959/1960.

[44] See for instance G. Bertonière, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion: The Sundays Without a Commemoration,* Roma, 1997, pp. 38-39.

a. The celebration of the Eucharist contained only two readings, both of which were taken from the New Testament, that is, from the epistles (usually those of Paul) or the Acts of the Apostles, and from the Gospels. Although the two sources mentioned only inform us about the festal cycle and do not indicate what lections were read on the 'ordinary' Sundays and Saturdays, it seems reasonable to assume that this represents the 'normal' pattern of the reading of Scripture during the Eucharist[45].
b. At specific feasts and periods during the year, the double New Testament reading is preceded by one, two, or more additional lections that are related to the specific liturgical character of the day or period. Depending on the character of the commemoration, they may have been taken from the Old or the New Testament. The remarkable outgrowth of the liturgical year, which took place in the period reflected by the Armenian lectionary and the Georgian *Kanonarion*, led to a huge increase in the number of biblical readings, both from the Old and the New Testaments. This fact most clearly emerges from a comparison between the (younger) Georgian and the (older) Armenian source.
c. The vigils of some major feasts include, prior to the double New Testament readings, a much larger number of Old Testament lections (twelve), each of which has been selected because of its connection with the particular feasts. The Armenian lectionary has such a vigil during Epiphany and the paschal night. The *Kanonarion* has also one for the festival of Christmas on 25th December – which has been introduced in Jerusalem in the meantime. .
d. One of the most striking features of the hagiopolite traditions, as evidenced by the Armenian and Georgian sources, is the remarkable role played by a continuous or semi-continuous reading of various Old Testament books in non-eucharistic services held on weekdays, especially, but not exclusively on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent. The Armenian lectionary attests a continuous reading of the following books: Exodus, 1 Kings, Proverbs, Jeremiah and Joel. In addition, parts of Deuteronomy, Isaiah and Job are read in a semi-continuous way (starting further on in the books and with smaller or greater gaps between the pericopes selected). It may be added that these non-eucharistic services did not include the reading of New Testament lections.
   As Charles Renoux has noted, this remarkable phenomenon recalls the weekday liturgical services at Caesarea during which Origen held his series of homilies on Old Testament books[46]. The similarity to those homilies is all the more noteworthy since Pierre Nautin has pointed out that Origen held his sermons on 1 Kings in Jerusalem[47]. For Renoux all this is reason to assume that, in the middle of the third century, Origen would have been familiar with the type of Lent, to which the Armenian lectionary attests. Given the lack of any clear evidence for the existence of Lent prior to the fourth century, this seems an audacious hypothesis. I would suggest that the similarity between both phenomena is indeed not coincidental, but that it should be explained in a different way. The custom of reading various Old Testament books during Lent in Jerusalem went back to an older practice which consisted of reading those books in non-eucharistic meetings throughout the year. This custom might have been introduced by Origen, but one could also imagine that he would have simply followed an already existing practice.

[45] Thus A.-G. Martimort, 'À propos du nombre des lectures à la Messe', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* 58 (1984), pp. 42-51 (reprint in: A.-G. Martimort, *Mirabile laudis canticum. Mélanges liturgiques,* Rome, 1991, pp. 125-135, esp. pp. 127-128; H. Brakmann, 'Der christlichen Bibel erster Teil in den gottesdienstlichen Traditionen des Ostens und des Westens', in A. Franz, *Streit am Tisch des Wortes? Zur Deutung und Bedeutung des Alten Testaments und seiner Verwendung in der Liturgie,* St. Ottilien, 1997, pp. 565-604, esp. pp. 574-575.

[46] C. Renoux, 'La quarantaine prépascale au IIIe siècle à Jérusalem', *La Maison-Dieu,* 196 (1994), pp. 111-129.

[47] See *Origène. Homélies sur Samuel,* P. Nautin and M.-T. Nautin, Paris, 1986, pp. 96-101 and pp. 174-175.

e. Apart from these forms of continuous and semi-continuous reading of Old Testament books during Lent, the Armenian lectionary and the Georgian *Kanonarion* also give evidence for New Testament books in some cases being read according to the same principle. All of these practices are connected with the Easter period (Pentecost). First, just like some passages in the oeuvre of John Chrysostom, the Armenian lectionary and Georgian *Kanonarion* have a continuous reading of the Acts of the Apostles, which is a widespread custom at least from the fourth century onwards[48]. In Jerusalem the reading of Acts starts in the morning of Easter Sunday. Next, in the Eucharist that is celebrated in the first weeks of Easter, the Epistle and the Gospel are preceded by passages taken from the Epistle of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, which is read in its entirety during this week. Yet, the most remarkable form of a continuous reading of a New Testament book is the *lectio continua* of the Gospel of John, which both in the Armenian lectionary and the Georgian *Kanonarion* begins on the first Sunday of Easter.

Anton Baumstark has pointed to some remarkable facts which might suggest that in hagiopolite/Palestinian tradition, even prior to its gradual byzantinisation, the three Synoptic Gospels were also read following the principle of *lectio continua*[49]. An Arabic Evangeliarium, which has been preserved by a manuscript of the eleventh century (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek orient. oct. 1108)[50], but was based upon an older archetype as preserved by ms. Borgia ar. 95 (of the ninth century), contains liturgical annotations that distribute the reading of the Synoptic Gospels over the Sundays of the entire liturgical year, with the Gospel of Matthew being read between Whitsunday and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14th September), that of Mark between the Exaltation of the Cross and the 'Calends' (1st January), and the first part of Luke between the Calends and Lent[51]. Baumstark adds the interesting observation that the Georgian *Kanonarion* has mainly lections that are taken from Luke during the Lenten Sundays, and suggests that they are the remnants of a (semi-)continuous reading of Luke during Lent[52]! Combining these data he puts forward the hypothesis that, in this region, a pre-Byzantine system of continuous reading of the four Gospels may have existed which is strongly reminiscent of the classical Byzantine one, yet with this remarkable difference that during Lent the Gospel of Luke was read instead of Mark.

4.4 Egypt

The external evidence regarding the development of liturgical reading in Egypt is rather scant and poor. Still, on the basis of the sparse data, one may make some interesting observations.

One of the most striking features of present-day Coptic liturgy, which is attested by a huge number of ancient manuscript lectionaries derived from Lower Egypt is that the Liturgy of the Word, the first part of the Eucharist, comprises four New Testament readings that are taken respectively from the Epistles of

[48] See for instance A. Baumstark 1953, pp. 136-137.

[49] A. Baumstark, 'Die sonntägliche Evangelienlesung im vorbyzantinischen Jerusalem', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 30 (1930), pp. 350-359.

[50] See for this manuscript also G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Città del Vaticano, 1944, pp. 142-144 and B. Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108,* Uppsala, 1938.

[51] The liturgical annotations are lacking in MS. Borg. ar., but B. Levin has argued on the basis of strong arguments that they were part of the archetype on which this manuscript was based (B. Levin 1938, pp. 16-18). Cf. also G. Graf 1944, p. 144. Further research on other early manuscripts from Palestine containing an Arabic version of the Gospels – that were not accessible to Baumstark – might shed more light upon the provenance and the antiquity of the liturgical annotations of the two manuscripts mentioned. For a list of the earliest known Arabic manuscripts of the Gospels (deriving from Palestine) see B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations,* Oxford, 1977, pp. 257-268. Cf. also S. Griffith, 'The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century', *Oriens Christianus,* 69 (1985), pp. 126-167, esp. pp. 131-135 and pp. 153-157.

[52] See A. Baumstark 1930, pp. 353-354.

Paul, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels[53]. Scholars have speculated about the origin of this tradition. Anton Baumstark argues that originally two Old Testament readings would have preceded a reading from the Epistles of Paul and a Gospel, but would have been replaced with two lections taken from the New Testament. There is, however, no evidence to support this hypothesis. The system is already attested by some relatively ancient sources, *inter alia* the *Canones of Basil* (ch. 97; fifth century)[54]. It had definitely come into existence prior to the formation of the Byzantine lection system.

Apart from the very limited role played by the Old Testament in the Eucharist, and in the Liturgy of the Hours, another characteristic feature of Egyptian/Coptic tradition should not remain unmentioned: the almost complete lack of forms of (semi-)continuous reading. As a rule, the pericopes are and were selected on the basis of the 'eclogadic' principle, depending on the liturgical character of the day or the season of the liturgical year[55].

4.5 Constantinople

There is a wealth of information to be found in liturgical sources that date roughly from the same period as the oldest lectionaries and biblical manuscripts containing liturgical apparata. One might mention in particular the Typikon/Synaxarion of the Great Church, included in the manuscripts Patmos 226 and Jerusalem Hagios Stauros 40[56]. Projecting the origins of the traditions they contain to an earlier period represents the same methodological problems as ascribing the Byzantine lectionary system to an arbitrarily selected early era.

The only thing we can do is to make two negative observations, which may at least guard us against starting from unfounded assumptions about the liturgical use of the Bible and biblical manuscripts in Constantinopolitan and Byzantine traditions.

a. Contrary to what has often been supposed and appears to have been the case in Antioch, there are no clear indications that the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel in the Eucharist was as a rule preceded by an Old Testament reading. Aimé-Georges Martimort[57] and Sysse Engberg have argued that, apart from specific feasts, the first part of the eucharistic celebration only comprised an Epistle and a Gospel reading, with a responsorial Psalm and the Alleluia-verse in between, as was also the case in Jerusalem. The only source that might suggest a different possibility is a reference made by John Chrysostom in the 19th *Homily on the Acts of the Apostles,* which is attributed, by Frans Van de Paverd among others, to Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan period[58]. Yet the precise interpretation of those passages remains open to debate. Moreover, ascribing John Chrysostom's writings to either his Antiochene or his Constantinopolitan period often proves to be a tricky enterprise[59]. One cannot exclude the possibility that in the fourth century a reading system like the one practiced at

[53] See especially U. Zanetti, *Les lectionnaires coptes annuels. Basse-Égypte,* Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985, esp. pp. 33-36; idem, 'Les lectionnaires coptes', in *La lecture liturgique des Épîtres catholiques dans l'Église ancienne,* ed. by C.-B. Amphoux, J.-P. Bouhot, Lausanne, 1996, pp. 141-190, esp. pp. 150-155. See further H. Brakmann 1997, pp. 588-591.

[54] W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien,* Leipzig, 1900 (reprint: Aalen, 1968), p. 274. Cf. also H. Brakmann 1997, pp. 589-590.

[55] Cf. U. Zanetti 1985, pp. 24-52; idem 1996, pp. 152-155.

[56] Edition: J. mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix No 40, Xe siècle*, Roma, 1962-1963.

[57] A.-G. Martimort 1984, pp. 131-134; S. G. Engberg, 'The Prophetologion and the Triple-Lection Theory- The Genesis of a Liturgical Book', *Bollettino della badia greca die Grottaferrata*, 3 (2006), pp. 67-92. See for a critical review of Engberg's article: R. Taft, 'Were there Once Old Testament Readings in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy? Apropos of an Article by Sysse Gudrun Engberg', *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 8 (2011), pp. 271-311.

[58] PG 60, 156. Cf. F. van de Paverd 1970, pp. 428-430.

[59] See for this question W. Mayer, *The homilies of St. John Chrysostom – Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations*, Rome, 2005.

Antioch may have been current in Constantinople or that perhaps John Chrysostom would have introduced it. If so, the Old Testament reading must have been dropped quite soon.

b. One thing that the Constantinopolitan tradition had in common with both the Antiochene/Syrian one and to a considerable extent with the tradition of Jerusalem, was that the basic core of the Liturgy of the Hours did not contain biblical readings (apart from the psalms of course)[60]. The praying of the Hours was originally meant for prayer (at least in the traditions under consideration). If we regularly find such readings in all three of these traditions, for instance at Vespers, it is because one day they were part of another service such as a vigil or a non-eucharistic reading service that was combined with one of the fixed hours of prayer.

5. What types of biblical books were needed in liturgy?

After having examined the external evidence for the liturgical reading of Scripture, we may finally return to the question with which we started: what conclusions can be drawn from this evidence about the possible liturgical setting in which certain biblical manuscripts were used?

First of all, we have noted considerable differences between the various regions, for instance with regard to the use of the Old Testament or the role played by the continuous reading of biblical books. This means that, to answer the question we have posed, it is very important to possess some information concerning the region from which a manuscript derives. In those instances where we are completely in the dark about its provenance, it will be very difficult to say something about its relationship with liturgy with certainty.

Second, it should be observed that neither in Constantinople nor in Antioch have traces been found of a continuous or semi-continuous reading of Old Testament books. As for Constantinople, the Old Testament played a minor role in liturgical celebrations, at least in the form of readings. This meant that complete Bibles or separate biblical books with the exception of Genesis and the Psalms were of little practical use. On the other hand, a book such as the *Prophetologion*, in which all the passages selected from the Old Testament were assembled, was extremely welcome. This, for its part, is a strong argument in favour of the antiquity of this liturgical biblical book. A similar observation might be made concerning Egypt. At the risk of becoming too speculative, one might ask oneself whether it is only coincidental that the oldest examples of New Testament lectionaries are derived precisely from this region? All this, of course, does not apply to the traditions of the churches east of Antioch and those of Jerusalem in which the Old Testament was read on a much more regular basis either during the Eucharist or in non-eucharistic services during Lent.

What all the traditions have in common is that, compared to the Old Testament, the New Testament played a much more central role. Thus, strikingly John Chrysostom's homilies in series suggest that a continuous reading of New Testament books was a widespread practice especially in the less developed periods of the liturgical year. Such a practice might have been a forerunner of the classical Byzantine lectionary system, which is characterised by its emphasis upon the continuous reading of the four Gospels. If this conclusion is correct, it means that many of the New Testament manuscripts that lack liturgical indications, but derive from a region other than Egypt, may have been copied for a primarily liturgical purpose. It was precisely the predominant principle of continuous reading that in combination with the existence of a certain degree of freedom made liturgical instructions superfluous.

[60] See R. Zerfass 1968, pp. 115-150.

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On Jerusalem Vestiges of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary

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Abstract

The Byzantine lectionary does not have preserved traditions that date back to an early Judeo-Christian phase of Christian liturgy. More specifically, it was only in the seventh century, a period when there was no longer any question of Jewish influences, that the Saturday lessons became an integral part of the Byzantine ritual. This means that they cannot have originally been meant as a substitute for the readings of the Jewish Sabbaths.

Instead of direct influences from the Jewish temple or synagogue, it was the liturgical tradition of fourth century Jerusalem which explains the presence of a number of Jewish-like liturgical features in the Byzantine lectionary. An interesting case in point is the week of Mid-Pentecost which originated before the feast of Ascension was moved to the 40th day after Easter. It must have arisen in the same local Palestinian tradition that also underlies the Jewish *Lag baOmer* which, like the day of take-leaving of the Mid Pentecost, falls on the 32nd day after Easter. Moreover, the Byzantine lectionary has inherited from the liturgical traditions of fourth century Jerusalem a number of religious concepts connected with the Jewish Temple and Jewish festivals (Sukkoth; Hanukka). Interesting examples are to be found with the feast days of September, in particular with the festival of the Dedication of the Church of the Resurrection on 13th September and the feast of the Holy Cross on 14th September. Another example is provided by the feast of the Assumption of the Theotokos on 15th August, which is originated in Jerusalem and falls on a date which can be considered as an equivalent for the ninth day of Ab, the day of the destruction of the First and the Second Jewish Temples.

The Byzantine Lectionary contains Bible lections for the liturgy, which are taken exclusively from the New Testament. It exists in two types, the full one regulating the monastic rite including daily liturgy, and the concise one regulating the parish rite and providing lessons for Sundays and Saturdays, as well as for festivals of the year. Caspar R. Gregory proposed that the Saturday readings were originally meant as a substitute for the Jewish Sabbaths and that they therefore date back to the Judeo-Christian epoch[1]. However, as a Christian festival, Saturday differs greatly from the *far niente* of Judaic Sabbath, and it is precisely to avoid any undesirable confusion that the Laodicean Council (362) demanded that the Saturday Liturgy be celebrated (canon 29) with the inclusion of a reading from the Gospels (canon 16). As a matter of fact, it was only in the seventh century, and perhaps under patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem (634-8) that a set of Saturday lessons was included in the Jerusalem Lectionary[2], whereas the full collection of Saturday lessons later on became an integral part of the Byzantine ritual.

Klaus Junack has defended the view that the Byzantine Gospel lectionary originated at the end of the seventh century[3]. His argument is, however, one *ex silentio*, based on the absence of manuscripts of this

1 C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900-1909, pp. 336-337.

2 The series of Saturday lessons is presented in the Georgian *kanonarion* of the seventh century. It is published by K. S. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimsky kanonar VII veka*, Tiflis, 1912 (in Russian). pp. 115-117. See M. Tarchnishvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem* (Ve-VIIIe siècle), Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 188/189; 204/205, Louvain, 1959 and 1961.

3 K. Junack, 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der katholischen Briefe', in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare. Die gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre*

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 173-182.

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liturgical book prior to the eighth century. The history of liturgy provides a more reliable base for dating the Byzantine Gospel lectionary to this period. The most striking feature of this book when compared to the old Jerusalem lectionary, which is transmitted in Syriac, Armenian, Latin and Georgian manuscripts, is the absence of Old Testament lections for the Divine Liturgy. This feature reflects Maximus the Confessor's views on the mutual relationship between the Old and New Testaments proposed in his *Mystagogy*, and it became a part of the liturgical rite only after Maximus' death (662) and after the vindication of his theological position and probably his canonisation by the Constantinople council of 680. That is why patriarch Germanus did not use Old Testament lections in the liturgy in 715[4]. Therefore Jewish-like features such as celebrating Saturday and a lunar calendar for the liturgical year entered the Byzantine lectionary at the end of the seventh century, when there was no longer any question of Jewish influences on Byzantine Christianity, especially after emperor Heraclius' vigorous order of forced conversion of all the Byzantine Jewry to Christianity (632).

As has been stated by Klaus Junack, all earlier lectionaries of the fifth through seventh centuries predate the emergence of the Byzantine Gospel lectionary and belong to the Jerusalem tradition[5]. This tradition came into existence in the fourth century, when the city of Jerusalem found itself to be the main liturgical centre of the Christian world. The principle of stational liturgy borrowed from Rome[6] found a new home there, with stational churches being built over holy sites, thus replacing martyr's graves of Rome. Typical of the liturgy of Jerusalem was the tendency towards 'historisation', which implied that New Testament events were reproduced in liturgical forms consisting of litanies and corresponding New Testament lessons. The Jerusalem lectionary did not impose a unified or fixed reading system. It rather gave general guidance for worship at a time when there was no *typicon*. Today, there is no extant Greek manuscript of the lectionary; it has only been preserved in Armenian[7], Georgian[8], Syriac[9] and Latin[10] manuscripts, the earliest dating back to the fifth century. Some local features were added to the ancient hagiopolite basis in other liturgical centres. For instance, there was a strong tendency in Syriac Antioch to form *fêtes d'idée*[11]. Thus, at the time of patriarch Severus of Antioch (†538), the prologue of the Fourth Gospel (John 1. 1-18) was introduced in the Easter Liturgy instead of Mark 16. 1-8, and this novelty, together with some others, also became accepted in Constantinople.

Bedeutung für die griechischen Textgeschichte, ed. by K. ALAND. Berlin-New York, 1972, p. 498-591. For his conclusion on the date see p. 533-542. See also C. D. OSBURN, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the NT' in *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*: *Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, *A Volume in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. by B. EHRMAN, M. HOLMES, Grand Rapids, 1995, pp. 57-73.

[4] J. MATEOS, S. J. *La célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, Étude historique, Roma, 1971, p. 131. The absence of OT lessons in Byzantine liturgy became the main argument for dating both Byzantine Lectionaries – Evangelion for NT lections and Paroimiarion for OT ones – to the time between Maximus and Germanos in the present author's book, in Russian, A. A. ALEXEEV, *Biblia v bogosluzhenii. Vizantijsko-Slavjansky Lekcionary (= The Bible in Liturgy. Byzantine and Slavonic Lectionary)*, St. Petersburg, 2008.

[5] K. JUNACK 1972.

[6] For the meaning of the Latin word *statio* (which in early Christianity originally was linked with forms of fasting and prayer) see: J. F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Roma, 1987, pp. 143-144.

[7] Edition, translation and introduction: A. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121,* I and II, Patrologia Orientalis 163 and 168, Turnhout, 1969 and 1971.

[8] See the editions of the Georgian *kanonarion* mentioned in footnote 2.

[9] F. BURKITT, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System, Proceedings of the British Academy* 10 (1921-1923), pp. 301-338. (Reprint: Gorgias Press 2007).

[10] Latin sources are used from the publication of S. BEISSEL, *Entstehung der Perikopen des Römischen Messbuches. Zur Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Bresgau, 1907.

[11] The term is coined by A. BAUMSTARK, *Liturgie comparée*, 3me ed, Chevetogne, 1953, p. 173.

The Georgian version, usually called the Georgian *kanonarion*, contains the most developed form of the Jerusalem lectionary, which arose at the time of patriarch Sophronius[12], whose pupil and collaborator was Maximus. The principle of *lectio continua* gained prominence within Sophronius' version and in time became the leading principle of the Byzantine lectionary.

The purpose of the present paper is to attract attention to some of the ancient ritual traditions derived from Jerusalem and preserved in these liturgical sources.

1. Mid-Pentecost and the original unity of the Pentecost

Let us start with the New Testament text itself, since it reflects in some cases its dependence on Jerusalem ritual tradition. For example, according to John 20. 22, the descent of the Holy Spirit occurred on the day of Resurrection, whereas Acts 2. 1-12 places this on the day of Pentecost. The latter seems to indicate that the Lucan tradition might have stemmed from Palestinian festal customs. There are obvious similarities between Moses looking at the Burning Bush and receiving the Torah on Mount Sinai, on the one hand, and the Apostles obtaining the gift of languages in the form of tongues of fire and receiving the Holy Spirit, which is the origin and foundation of the Church, on the other. While some early sources like Luke 24. 51, John 20. 17-28 and the Epistle of Barnabas 15. 9 agree in dating the Ascension to the day of Resurrection, while Acts 2. 1 situates the same event on the fortieth day after Easter, the Jerusalem tradition places it on the fiftieth day. The latter date is witnessed by Egeria's account[13] and the earliest Syriac lectionary[14] and the Armenian lectionary reads on this day John 16. 5 with allusion to the Ascension: 'I go my way to Him who sent me'[15]. This tradition has left a trace in the Byzantine lectionary where Mid-Pentecost falls on the 25th day after Easter, which testifies to the primary unity of the whole period from Easter to the Pentecost. At a certain moment later, it became subdivided into two parts: the first, evoking Lent's Quadragesima, was dedicated to the celebration of Easter, whereas the second, a ten-day period, changed into the feast of Ascension. The earliest reliable testimony of the Ascension being transferred to the fortieth day after Easter, which is in agreement with Acts 1. 3, is found in the Armenian lectionary and is dated 417[16]. This tendency, to make the rite concordant with the New Testament text, was characteristic of the Antiochene Church (see above) and adopted in this case by John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa[17]. It has been argued that Egeria's pilgrimage journal attests the existence of this practice in Jerusalem of 383[18], but the view is rather disputable[19]. It is much more probable that Egeria speaks of the commemoration of the Innocents in Bethlehem on the 40th day after Easter[20].

The feast of Mid-Pentecost itself must also have arisen in a Palestinian environment. Dividing long festal periods into two parts is known to many local traditions. According to the Byzantine lectionary,

[12] K. S. Kekelidze 1912; M. Tarchnischvili 1959 and 1961.

[13] Éthérie, *Journal de voyage*, ed. by H. Pétré, Paris, 1948, pp. 248-251.

[14] F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, London, 1921-1923, p. 303.

[15] A. Renoux II 1971, pp. 342-343. See also R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedralofficium Jerusalems*, Münster, 1968, pp. 98-99 (73).

[16] J. F. Baldovin 1987, p. 90, note 26. See the Armenian version: A. Renoux, 'Un manuscrit du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (cod. Jérus. ar. 121)', *Le Muséon*, vol. 74 (1961), p. 383; A. Renoux, II 1971, pp.336-339.

[17] M. F. Connell, 'From Easter to Pentecost', in *Passover and Easter. The Symbolic Structure of Sacred Seasons*, ed. by P. F. Bradshaw and L. A. Hoffman, Notre Dame, Ind., 1999, p. 101. The author mentions also a reference to the fortieth day in documents of the Council of Elvira, ca. 306.

[18] For a bibliography see: H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München, 1959, p. 257.

[19] F. Cabrol, *Etude sur la Peregrinatio Silviae. Les églises de Jérusalem, la discipline et la liturgie au IVe siècle*, Paris, 1895, pp. 122-123.

[20] P. P. Devos, 'Égérie à Bethlehem : le 40e jour après Pâques à Jérusalem en 383', *Analecta Bolandiana*, 86 (1968), pp. 103-105. See Éthérie 1948, pp. 246-247.

the Gospel of John is read consecutively (*lectio continua*) on the weekdays of the seven Easter weeks. The lection provided for Mid-Pentecost, that is the fourth Wednesday after Easter, is John 7. 14-30. The passage begins with a reference to the middle of Sukkoth (τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσούσης : about the middle of the feast). John 7. 1-13 is read on Tuesday, the eve of Mid-Pentecost, John 8. 12-20 is read on Thursday, the day after Mid-Pentecost, whereas the pericope that is skipped over (John 7. 31-50) is read on the very day of Pentecost. The relation of the content of the Mid-Pentecost lection, John 7. 14ff, to the feast is all but formal. The Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian sources, as well as the Ambrosian Lectionary[21], have the same lection for this day; which implies that the lection is Hierosolymitan by origin. It is used also by Syriac and Gallican sources, as a reading for the middle of the Lent (*De media Quadragesimae*)[22] and later it becomes the principal reading for this day in the Roman Catholic tradition[23]. It is evident, that the division of Pentecost into two equal parts was a primary phenomenon whereas that of Lent was a secondary one[24]. In fact, the Pentecostal cycle of fifty days was adopted from the Jewish calendar tradition, whereas Lent was a new invention of Christian monasticism in the fourth century. Meanwhile, the Byzantine lection of Pentecost, John 7. 31-50, is not original, the sole link with the feast being formed by the words of v. 37 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς (on the last day of the great feast). The Jerusalem lectionary includes for this day pericopes devoted to the Holy Spirit: John 14. 15-21[25] (25-31[26]), 16. 5-16[27] (15. 26-16, 34[28]). In the Byzantine lectionary, John 7. 14 and 7. 31 skillfully connect Pentecost with Sukkoth since the last feast is the topic of these Gospel passages. However, the verses do not refer to the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which is the theologically most significant theme for this feast. Probably, the loss of the connection with the theme of the Holy Spirit was occasioned by an attempt to restore the practice of celebrating Jewish Sukkoth and the whole autumn festal cycle interpreting these festivals in Christian perspective.

The lections during weekdays of the next fifth week have the following order in the Byzantine lectionary:

Monday – John 8. 41-51
Tuesday – John 8. 51-59
Wednesday (leave-taking of Mid-Pentecost) – John 6. 5-14 (feeding five thousand)
Thursday – John 9. 39-10. 9
Friday – John 10. 17-28

The missing passages are read on the 6th Sunday (John 9. 1-38) and for glorification of holy hierarchs (bishops) (John 10. 1-8 'The Good Shepherd').

[21] Thus in the Georgian *Kanonarion* published by K. S. KEKELIDZE 1912 and M. TARCHNISCHVILI 1959 (CSCO 188, 161 and CSCO 189, 128) . The same picture in Arab and Latin versions: G. GARITTE, 'Un évangliare grec-arabe du Xe siècle (cod. Sin. ar. 116)', in *Studia codicologica* (=TU 124), Berlin, 1977, pp. 207-225; BEISSEL 1907, pp. 93, 99, 102. See also for Milan: O. Heiming, *Corpus ambrosiano liturgicum II; DAS Ambrosianische Sakramentar von Biasca* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen) 51, Münster 1969, 88, and for Antioch: A. BAUMSTARK, 'Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518', *Römische Quartalschrift*, Bd. 11 (1897), p. 64.

[22] S. BEISSEL 1907, pp. 69, 72.

[23] S. BEISSEL 1907, pp. 76, 80, 122, 134, 174.

[24] T. TALLEY, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, New York, 1986, p. 63.

[25] For the reading of liturgy in Syriac see: F. C. BURKITT, *Th Early Syriac Lectionary,* 12, for Armenian see: A. RENOUX, II, 1971, 340-341. For the Latin sources see: S. BEISSEL 1907, P. 164.

[26] The reading of the Third hour in the Armenian Lectionary (A. RENOUX, II,1971, p. 342-343).

[27] The reading of litany on Sion in the Armenian and Georgian sources (A. RENOUX II, 1971, p. 342-343; K. S. KEKELIDZE 1912; TARCHNISCHVILI, CSCO 188, p. 172 and 189, p.138.

[28] K. S. KEKELIDZE 1912.

In this list one can see that for the leave-taking of Mid-Pentecost a special reading has been chosen and the *lectio continua* is interrupted[29].

Indeed, the feast of Mid-Pentecost is quite unusual in some of its features. Although it has a purely calendric character and has no links with New Testament events or church history, it takes up, however, a whole octave, which is normal only for great holidays. Moreover, there is a special reading for the day of leave-taking. The clue may lie in the fact that the leave-taking of Mid-Pentecost falls on the 32nd day of Pentecost and on the eve of the 33rd day in which the Palestinian feast *Lag baOmer* is celebrated. The name of the feast means 'the 33rd [day] of sheaf'. The agricultural base of Easter in Palestine was the harvest of barley, when a barley sheaf was brought into the Temple: an event that marked the beginning of the 50-day period by the feast of Weeks (Shavuoth). On the 33rd day of the period the first trial harvesting of wheat was practiced. Since, according to the Jewish calendar, a new day begins after sunset, it was conducted with some rituals involving torches used for lighting[30]. So the indistinct but important position in the Byzantine lectionary of the leave-taking of Mid-Pentecost reflects the importance of the Palestinian agricultural ritual of the day. In its turn, the Gospel lection on the feeding of the five thousand completely conforms to the farming basis. Since the Mid-Pentecost celebration was established before the feast of Ascension was moved to the 40th day after Easter, it could not have originated later than the fourth century and it must have found its origin at Jerusalem. According to Egeria's report, the Gospel lections were delivered in Jerusalem in Greek and Syriac[31], so around 383 local inhabitants were among St Cyril's flock and this could have influenced the structure of worship[32]: the dominant Greek and Syriac[33] calendar practice refers the beginning of the day to the morning, and accordingly the *Lag baOmer* ritual must fall on the 32nd day after Easter.

2. The commemoration of the Walk to Emmaus

Another example of fourth-century Jerusalem liturgical features in the Byzantine lectionary is the lection Luke 24. 13-35, the Walk to Emmaus. Although it is not related to any Jewish custom, it betrays the influence of the local environment on the Jerusalem rite and therefore provides a parallel with the previous episode. The Byzantine lectionary gives a list of eleven Gospel pericopes devoted to the Resurrection; they are read one after another on Sunday mornings during the liturgical year beginning with the second Sunday of Easter (called St Thomas Sunday or *Anti-Pascha*).[34] The cycle is repeated every eleven weeks.

[29] It is necessary to clarify that festal lections of Byzantine Lectionary form the earliest stratum whereas Sunday and Saturday lessons were arranged later. The weekday lections were scheduled in process of composing the whole book at the end of the seventh century; just for this stage of the composition the principle of *lectio continua* was obligatory. The subject is closely studied in the present author's work A. A. Alexeev 2008.

[30] The Gaonic tradition of the end of the tenth-century witnesses of mournful character of the 32-day period from Passover to *Lag baOmer,* including in particular the ban of agricultural work after the sunset. See E. Zarren-Zoher, 'From Passover to Shavuot', in *Passover and Easter. The Symbolic Structure of Sacred Seasons*, ed. by P. F. Bradshaw and L. A. Hoffman, Notre Dame, Ind., 1999, pp. 78-84.

[31] Éthérie 1948, pp. 261-63.

[32] A legendary source indirectly points to the mixed character of Jerusalem congregation. There is a tradition mentioned for the first time by Sozomen († c. 450) in his *Ecclesiastical History* that a certain Jew, Judas by name, took part in the Invention of the Cross and later became a Christian and even the archbishop of Jerusalem under the name of Cyriacus. Italian tradition identifies him as bishop of Ancona († 360). See: S. Borgehammar, *How The Holy Cross Was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend*, Stockholm, 1991; H. J. W. Drijvers and J. W. Drijvers, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac, Introduction, Text and Translation*, Leuven, 1997.

[33] V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 162.

[34] These pericopes are: (1) Matthew 28.16-20, (2) Mark 16.1-8, (3) Mark 16.9-30, (4) Luke 24.1-12, (5) Luke 24.13-35, (6) Luke 24.36-53, (7) John 20.1-10, (8) John 20.11-18, (9) John 20.19-31, (10) John 21.-1-4, (11) John 21.15-25.

The lection in question is listed as the fifth Resurrection Gospel. Besides, it is read on the Tuesday of Holy Week in all the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian sources, though very rarely some lectionaries include the Emmaus episode read on Monday or Wednesday after Easter[35]. There used to be a church in ancient Emmaus which was a destination point for the processions or litanies of pilgrims. The church was razed to the ground by a Persian army in 614 or an Arab one in 638. In 1104-1105 a Russian pilgrim, hegumenos Daniel, visited Emmaus and put down in his diary the following note:

> 'Four miles to the west of Rama there is situated Emmaus. There Christ appeared to Luke and Cleopas *on the third day after the Resurrection*, when they were on their way to the village. He revealed himself to them in breaking the bread. There was once a small village here with a church built in it. And now everything is destroyed by pagans, and Emmaus is empty'[36].

One can see that, contrary to the clear statement of the Gospel (Luke 24. 13, 21), the local tradition moved the episode from the day of the Resurrection to the third day after the Resurrection. The date may reflect a practice of stational worship at a place that could not be reached from Jerusalem in a short period of time[37], and thus the date was put off to allow enough time for a slow pedestrian procession.

3. Concepts connected with the Temple and Jewish Liturgy

Another channel through which the Christian rite in Jerusalem could be influenced by local tradition was that of religious concepts connected with the Temple of Jerusalem and with Jewish liturgy. Emperor Constantine was not only concerned with creating a unified Church in his Empire by summoning the Council of 325 and compiling the complete unified corpus of the Holy Scripture (EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, IV. 36), but by his church building programme he also contributed to a revitalizing of motifs connected with the Temple and its cult, which hitherto had been alien to the mentality of early Christianity or had been viewed in a negative aspect. For Christians of pre-Constantine epoch, the Temple stood for the vanquished Judaism and lingering paganism. The Church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) was erected at a distance of about a mile from the remains of the Jewish Temple and was consecrated on 13th September, 335. The day corresponds to the 10th day of Tishri, when the First and Second Temples were consecrated by king Solomon and high priest Joshua of Jozadak (1 Kings 8; Ezra 6). Constantine in his imagination regarded the new Temple as a successor to Solomon's Temple[38]. At the same time a close connection can be traced with the purification of the Temple by Judah Maccabee in 165 B.C. (1 Maccabees 4. 59, 2 Maccabees 1. 18). This is evident from the term ἐγκαινία 'renewal', used for the Dedication on 13th September, which corresponds to the Hebrew Hanukka. Besides, 5th September, the feast day in the Byzantine Synaxarion of the Prophet Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, may be also symbolical: it falls

[35] A. RÜCKER, 'Ein weiter Zeuge der älteren Perikopenordnung der syrischen Jakobiten', *Oriens Christianus*, Neue Serie, 17 (1918), pp. 146-152; S. BEISSEL 1907, p. 63. See also G. PRESSOTT, *La liturgia a Aquilea nel XII secolo*, Trieste, 2005, p. 43.

[36] The text is published in *Biblioteka literatury drevnej Rusi*, vol. 4, St. Petersburg, 1997, p. 82. See the translations and commentary to this document by J. WILKINSON, J. HILL AND W. F. RYAN, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, London, 1988, p. 120-171; K.-D. SEEMANN, *Die altrussische Wallfahrsliteratur*, München, 1976, p. 173-198.

[37] Like the other Christian pilgrims Daniel visited the city known at that time as Nicopolis, present day Khirbet Imvas, which is situated 18 miles from Jerusalem on the way to Joppa. See J. R. STRANGE, 'Emmaus', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. II, 1992, pp. 497-498.

[38] See L. VAN TONGEREN, *Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, Leuven, 2000, p. 31. According to Van Tongeren, the conceptual development had the opposite direction: Constantine undertook the replacement of the Jewish Temple by the Christian Church which later, in Eusebius and Egeria's eyes, was understood as succession. In my view, the thesis is anachronistic.

on the day after Moses' feast day, 4th September. The two dates embrace the history of prophecy in Israel from the very beginning to its end in New Testament times. The Feast of Tabernacles was the beginning of the annual cycle of Torah reading, and this model may also have affected the structure of the Christian liturgical year. Thus, the Georgian version of the Jerusalem lectionary counts weeks beginning on the eve of the Renewal of the Temple up until Christmas[39], while in the Byzantine lectionary the reading of the Gospel of Luke begins on the first Sunday after the feast of the Holy Cross. Strictly speaking, it is this day and not the 1st September that was considered as the first day of Byzantine liturgical year. The date 1st September had been established by the end of the third century by emperor Diocletian as the date of the regular population census, but it was only under Heraclius (610-638) that this date was introduced as the beginning of the civil year, together with the calendar era that counted from the Biblical Creation of the World. All these novelties reveal the tendency towards the restoration of the series of autumn festivals having as its centre the feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth).

The feast of the Holy Cross seems to have been initially celebrated on the second day in the octave of the Dedication (Renewal) of the Temple[40]. It has some specific features that reflect its provenance[41]. It is devoted to the Invention of the Cross that took place in Jerusalem around 320. In some cases, the event is celebrated on 3rd May, as it is fixed in a Greek Gospel of the eleventh century of the Sinai collection[42], as well as in a number of Latin sources, among them the well-known Lindisfarne Gospels of the seventh century[43]. According to Egeria, the veneration of the Cross took place on Good Friday[44], however her account of the Renewal of the Temple reached us in an incomplete form. The Exaltation of the Cross is absent from early sources of the Jerusalem liturgical tradition (Armenian and Syriac) and is only found in later ones (Georgian and Arab). The feast of the Cross received a strong impetus after the Cross was won back from Persia by Heraclius in 628. Since the concept of the only Temple had been lost by that time, the Exaltation became the main day of the octave cycle. Further, as the Theotokos cult was developing, some other feast days were added to the Autumn period, such as the Nativity of the Theotokos on 8th September, the feast day of her parents Joachim and Anna on 9th September, while the feast day of Moses was combined with that of the icon 'The Burning Bush' (Exodus 3. 2-4). The Burning Bush was interpreted in a typological way as a prototype of the Theotokos. Besides, it became usual in Byzantine hymnography to stress in an allegorical manner the identity of the Theotokos and the Temple; in the Akathistos of Romanos the Melodos (†540) she is called 'a living temple'. The metaphor, which has a sophialogical basis, goes back to Proverbs 9. 1-11.

39 K. S. Kekelidze 1912, pp. 147-150; tarchnischvili, csco 188, pp. 42-43 and 189, p. 36ff.

40 K. S. Kekelidze 1912, p. 269. L. Van Tongeren 2000, p. 30, 35) states that both – the Renewal and Exaltation – were memorised first on 13th September,, and in time the Exaltation was shifted to the second day whereas the Renewal became a fore-feast (proeortia).

41 See D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity. The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, Tübingen, 2003. J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie*, Paris, 1958, pp. 464-469, speaks about Sukkoth's impact on the Epiphany, this view is based on the data drawn from the Great Cappadocians' homiletic works. But they were active before the feast of Exaltation received its final form in the seventh century. A. Baumstark 1953, p. 169, finds that Hanukka alone could shape some features of the Epiphany. As a matter of fact, *Hanukka* itself was shaped under the influence of Roman paganism with its cult of Sun and celebration of the winter solstice.

42 K. Aland (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage,* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 1), Berlin-New York, 1994, n. 1187. The manuscript was for the first time described by Archim. Antonin Kapustin, 'Drevny kanonar sinajskoj biblioteki', in *Proceedings of Kiev Theological Academy,* 1874, 5, p. 46.

43 S. Beissel 1907, p. 81, 87, 115. Adoration of the Cross of May, 7 is connected with the vision of Cyril of Jerusalem in 351. See F. C. Burkitt 1921-1923, p. 323; G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, Bruxelles, 1958, p. 218.

44 Éthérie 1948, pp. 233-5.

4. The Assumption of the Theotokos

Finally there was one more *fête d'idée* connected with the Temple: the Assumption of the Theotokos, on 15th August. As many other feasts, it could have its origin in Rome. According to Roman liturgical rite of the second and third centuries, the day of martyr's death of a saint was considered as his spiritual birthday (*natalis*) and his memorial day (*festum*)[45]. When the system of Christian feasts emerged and developed after the edict of Milan (313), Christmas (*Natalis Domini*) was the first new feast to be celebrated from around 330. A further important factor was the Council of Ephesus (431), which gave formal approval to the title *Theotokos* for the Blessed Mary, rejecting Nestorius' doctrine of the human nature of the Incarnate Christ and his use of the corresponding term *Christotokos*. In addition, the Book of James or the Protoevangelium Jacobi, compiled in Egypt around 200, provided a narrative base for the Theotokos tradition.

The feast of the Theotokos is naturally linked to Christmas. That is why it was celebrated on 26th December in Syria and Constantinople[46], where the second day of a festal octave was usually devoted to commemorating those who occupied an important place in the festal tradition[47]. In sixth century Rome, 1st January, that is the Christmas octave, was fixed as the *Festum Mariae* or *Natalis S. Mariae*. Later, the Council of Toledo (626) assigned the eighth day before Christmas, 18th December, for the commemoration of Mary while in Gaul her commemoration was held on 18th January. The Coptic Church celebrates Mary's feast on 16th January[48], and 9th August[49].

The date of 15th August first appears in Armenian sources of the fifth century and later in Syriac ones[50] due to the influence of bishop Rabbula of Edessa († 435), who was an active propagator of the liturgical traditions of Jerusalem. The date 15th August is a conventional equivalent in the Julian calendar for the ninth day of Ab – the day of the destruction of the First and the Second Temples[51]. According to Rabbinic sources[52] and New Testament beliefs, the destruction of the Temple is a sign of the Messiah's coming into the world. It was this theological conception which served as a base for the date of the main feast of the Theotokos – her spiritual birth (*natalis*) in the form of Dormition or Assumption[53]. One may note in this connection that the Jerusalem tradition refers to the fact that Joachim's house stood in Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate. In the fourth century a church was erected there, which, however, was destroyed during the Persian invasion of 614[54]. Thus in this, as in other similar cases, the Jerusalem tradition, linked with

[45] T. A. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, Oxford, 1969, p. 87; K. Donovan, 'The Sanctoral', in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. by C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold, New York, 1978, pp. 420-424.

[46] S. C. Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption de Marie: Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Paris, 1995, p. 429, 452.

[47] The practice of the second day's festival (called in Greek *synaxis* 'synod', Church-Slavonic *sobor*) till now is current in Constantinople and Orthodox Churches. Until now 26th December, is devoted to the commemoration of the Theotokos. Similarly, the *synaxis* of John the Baptists is celebrated on 7th January, immediately after Epiphany. This liturgical form of *synaxis* could belong to an ancient Antiochene tradition. See J. Dowden, *The Church Year and Kalendar*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 137f; G. Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy*, Glasgow, 1945, chapter 3; W. Mayer, 'John Chrysostom and his Audience: Distinguishing different congregations at Antioch and Constantinople', *Studia Patristica*, vol. 31, 1997, p. 70-75. *Synaxis* as a memorial day is a more primitive form of a feast and, probably, a primary one.. See H. Wybrew, *Orthodox feasts of Jesus and the Virgin Mary: Liturgical text with commentary*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, p. 57f.

[48] B. Kleinheyer, 'Maria in Liturgie', in *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, ed. by W. Beinert und H. Petri, Regensburg, 1984, pp. 420-421.

[49] M. de Fenoyl, *Le sanctoral copte*, Beyrouth, 1960, pp. 117, 181. 16th and 18th January reflect the connection of the tradition with Epiphany, an incarnation feast.

[50] Kleinheyer 1984, p. 422. There is no special day for the Virgin Mary feast in ancient Syriac documents. The term *Theotokos* appears in 586 (F. C. Burkitt 1921-1923, p. 319, note 1). Later the date was adopted in the Western part of the Empire, perhaps, to supplant the Pagan festival of Roman emperors – *Feriae Augusti* – that took place in the middle of August and in time became the memorial day of the Blessed Virgin – *Ferragosto*.

[51] For example, the 9th day of Ab falls on 9th August 2011, according to the Gregorian calendar.

[52] *Midrash Raba. Lamentations*, trans. by A. Cohen, London, 1939, p. 133-139.

[53] The question in details is discussed by H. Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 230-243.

[54] See G. Garitte 1958, pp. 324, 327.

material remnants and relics, was considered as most convincing and reliable. That is why it was so influential during the century of the historisation of liturgy.

Concluding remarks

At first sight, one might think that some of the cases examined above were the result of a Judeo-Christian liturgical symbiosis, as Caspar René Gregory supposed. However, there is no evidence to substantiate this view. These Jewish-like features were not generated by the Temple or synagogical liturgical tradition, they were called into existence by specifics of the Jerusalem calender, topical conventions, and agricultural practice. Having been adopted in Jerusalem and in later Byzantine liturgical documents, they reveal, like the New Testament itself, the Semitic roots of the tradition.

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Byzantine Homiletics: An Introduction to the Field and its Study*

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Abstract
This article offers an introduction to Byzantine homiletics and an overview of the literary study of it with an eye to potential new approaches to the field. The issues under discussion here include terminology, the scholarly treatment of homiletics so far with an emphasis on persisting gaps in its examination, its significance as a literary genre for the Byzantines themselves as well as for modern research, multifarious literary aspects of it, and future research perspectives. The article is divided into four parts: 1. General issues; 2. Literary aspects; 3. Further literary aspects and research desiderata; 4. Epilogue, followed by a postscript.

1. General issues

Any future history of Byzantine literature ought to offer a scholarly presentation and study of the various literary genres based on a new and contemporary approach. The present study aims to contribute toward such a comprehensive picture by providing a discussion of developments in the field of homiletic studies, pointing out gaps in the existing scholarly literature and examining the literary aspects of the homilies which prove homiletics to be a highly important genre of Byzantine ecclesiastical literature.

Karl Krumbacher's history of Byzantine literature[1] contains a large section on Byzantine theological literature written by Albert Ehrhard, with a few pages dedicated to ecclesiastical rhetoric from the sixth century up to the Palaiologan period[2]. Ehrhard chose to include only those authors whose surviving theological work consists entirely or primarily of homilies[3]. As a result, authors were omitted whose preaching activity constitutes a small part of their total output, as for example Theophylact of Achrida, whose homilies were treated together with the rest of his work in the chapter on hermeneutics[4].

Hans-Georg Beck made similar choices in his book on Byzantine theological literature[5], the relevant section of which is entitled 'history'[6]. His work contains an exhaustive coverage of homiletic production

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[1] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, Munich, 1897².

[2] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 160–176 ('[1. Theologie] D. Geistliche Beredsamkeit').

[3] See K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 163.

[4] See K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 122–139 ('[1. Theologie] B. Exegese'), esp. pp. 133–135.

[5] H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Byzantinisches Handbuch, II.1), Munich, 1959.

[6] H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, pp. 369–798: 'IV Hauptteil. Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner'.

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 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101394

from the sixth century until the end of the Byzantine Empire; however, scholars must look not only through the chapters entitled 'Prediger', but also through the rest of the chapters in order to establish a full listing of homily writers[7].

This approach not only demands excessive time on the part of contemporary scholars, but it also leads to a fragmentation of the material, which is all the more surprising given that these works are primarily constructed around genres. As a result, a complete picture of the development of Byzantine homiletics cannot be established. Of course, we remain grateful to these two scholars. They have laid the foundations for further study of the material and have compiled valuable bibliographies. They have also indicated texts which remain unpublished and those which lack critical editions, and they have in general expressed accurate opinions. They had in mind a particular scientific target, and they successfully achieved their goals on the basis of a specific methodology. Their work is of such breadth that, with all the need for updating, no one has undertaken to do so in the last decades. However, this is not the only reason for the unavailability of a more recent work of this kind. It is also due to the fact that nowadays we apprehend our needs differently. But let us begin with some clarifications.

The first question that is raised concerns terminology. I mentioned that Krumbacher's history uses the term 'ecclesiastical rhetoric' to designate homilies as a whole, whereas today the term 'homiletics' prevails. The modern discipline of theology, in which homiletics constitutes a field of the branch of Practical Theology, insists on the term 'homiletics' and sees the differences between homiletics and secular rhetoric as involving the sacredness of the subject of the former, the means used and the targets pursued[8]. The general preference of contemporary scholars for the term 'homiletics' seems to be due to a difference of emphasis, consistently with the concern in theology not to present ecclesiastical preaching as simply a subgenre of rhetoric. Nevertheless, with regard to the medieval period the two terms can be used interchangeably[9]. Viewed as public speech and a special art of self-expression, Byzantine homiletics is generally classified as rhetoric, just like kontakia and kanons are a part of ecclesiastical poetry. Furthermore, homiletics follows the rules of rhetoric as formulated in the Roman imperial and early Byzantine eras. This becomes more apparent in certain types of homilies, specifically in eulogies of saints (*encomia*) as well as in festal and occasional sermons[10], rather than in homilies proper, which have a Judaic background and focus on the exegesis of Gospel pericopes[11]. Here it should be noted that the modern terminology for the various types of homilies appears somewhat different and even contrary to Byzantine practice, as is evident from the fact that in some manuscripts the term 'homily' is applied to occasional sermons (the case of the Homilies of Emperor Leo VI is most telling)[12]. The clarification of medieval terminology on the basis of the manuscript tradition of the homiletic texts is a point that requires further examination.

The second issue concerns the temporal boundaries of Byzantine homiletics. Up to the present patristic scholars have tended to study the homiletics of the first five centuries of our era – even though it is not uncommon for them to extend their interests up to John Damascene (for example, in the case of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*) – relegating the treatment of the period from Justinian I to the end of the

7 Compare T. Antonopoulou, 'Homiletic Activity in Constantinople around 900', in *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (A New History of the Sermon, 1), ed. by M. B. Cunningham – P. Allen, Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 1998, pp. 317–348, esp. p. 317; and P. Allen, 'The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: A Re-assessment', in *Preacher and Audience*, pp. 201–225, esp. p. 202.

8 See, for example, P. Trempelas, *Ὁμιλητική. Ἡ ἱστορία καὶ θεωρία τοῦ κηρύγματος*, Athens, 1976, pp. 4–10.

9 P. Trempelas, *Ὁμιλητική*, pp. 6–7.

10 See below, pp. 188-189.

11 On the latter group, see G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton, N. J., 1983, p. 182.

12 See T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (The Medieval Mediterranean, 14), Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1997, p. 49, n. 85.

Empire to handbooks on Byzantium[13]. Though this distinction can be justified on practical grounds of present-day specialisation, one should not overlook its entirely artificial character. This becomes obvious in the (irrational) hypothetical case of any attempt to rearrange the monumental work of Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*[14], so as to distinguish the patristic era from the middle and late Byzantine periods. Any such attempt would be totally unthinkable with regard to the formation of the hagiographical and homiletic collections, which place texts of the Cappadocian Fathers alongside those of Photios and Symeon the Metaphrast. This is due to the fact that the Byzantines regarded ecclesiastical literature as a vivid continuum and they were in constant dialogue with the older Christian works. Contemporary researchers of the homiletics of the main Byzantine period have much to gain from the study of the respective texts of the first Christian centuries. The latter area of studies flourishes nowadays, for example, with the publication of volumes such as *Predigt in der Alten Kirche*[15]. This book discusses subjects of interest to anyone studying Byzantine homiletics, such as the difference between homilies and hermeneutical works, a distinction drawn there with regard to the works of Origen.

Another limitation related to the general perception of what Byzantine literature is and, therefore, what is to be included in an historical account of it, is of a linguistic character. Up to this day histories of Byzantine literature are conceived as histories of the medieval production in the Greek language alone. As a result, it is normal to speak of Byzantine literature as Greek literature, whereas literature in Syriac, for instance, belongs to a separate scientific field, that of Syriac Studies. Thus, the homilies of Jacob of Saroug and 'Ephraim the Syrian', for example, are omitted from histories of Byzantine literature. It should not be forgotten, however, that this is again an artificial distinction, since influence among the literatures of the empire is well known. For this reason, a history of Medieval Greek literature should cover at least those Greek texts, including homilies, which survive only in translation into other languages such as in Syriac, Arabic and Armenian. Moreover, as has been proposed in the past[16], it is essential to catalogue those works as well as all translations of Greek works, an enterprise that will shed light on their variety, diffusion and audience. The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* does operate within this framework, consistently including translations of patristic texts from Greek into other languages.

Now that we have made these clarifications, we may have a look at developments in the field of Byzantine homiletics since the publication of H.-G. Beck's work. Naturally, there have been new, critical editions of previously unpublished and inadequately published texts, starting with the homilies of Photios by B. Laourdas in the same year that Beck's work appeared. The number of these publications is limited, however, and they concern primarily the works of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, whereas for many Byzantine homilies J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* is still the standard edition. I would like to mention as examples of new editions of early Byzantine homilies those of Gregory of Nyssa in the series *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, Amphilochios of Iconium and Asterios of Amasea by C. Datema, as well as the edition of most of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*. For the middle Byzantine period, there are, for instance, the editions of the homilies of Leontios of Constantinople by C. Datema and P. Allen, John Damascene by B. Kotter, Emperor Leo VI by T. Antonopoulou[17], Peter of

[13] As in the works of Albert Ehrhard in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, and of H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*.

[14] A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* I–III, Leipzig, 1937–1952.

[15] *Predigt in der Alten Kirche*, ed. by E. Mühlenberg – J. van Oort, Kampen, 1994.

[16] Av. Cameron, 'New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh–Eighth Centuries', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I. Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 1), ed. by Av. Cameron – L. I. Conrad, Princeton, N. J., 1992, pp. 81–105, esp. p. 87.

[17] [In the original article this edition was mentioned as forthcoming with reference to T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, p. viii. The edition appeared in 2008; see below, 'Postscript'].

Argos by K. Kyriakopoulos, Michael Psellos by E. Fisher, and Neophytos of Cyprus by B. Katsaros, N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi and T. X. Yagkou, as well as of several homilies of Philagathos Kerameus by G. Rossi-Taibbi. For the later Byzantine period, we have, for example, the editions of the homilies of Theoleptos of Philadelphia by R. E. Sinkewicz, Filotheos Kokkinos by B. Pseutogkas and D. Tsames, and Isidore Glabas by B. Christophoridis. Finally, the Patriarchal Homiliary II was published by Z. Xintaras, isolated texts have appeared in scientific journals, the total number of which is not at all insignificant.

However, many important collections of homiletic texts still lack critical editions and, as a consequence, we do not have a final text available to serve as the basis for further study. As examples I would like to mention Proklos of Constantinople, Germanos I of Constantinople, Theodore the Studite, George of Nicomedia and Nicetas David the Paphlagonian, as well as certain large homiliaries and *panegyrica*, such as the homiliary of John Xiphilinos (in relation to which the question of the distinction between homilies and *didaskalies* arises[18]). We await the publication of the homilies of other writers such as Andrew of Crete by Mary Cunningham[19], and George of Cyprus by Sophia Kotzabassi[20]. A large volume of work remains to be done in respect to critical editions. As a result, there are broad prospects for research projects in this area, occasionally demanding wider cooperation. An example would be the critical edition of the complete works of John Chrysostom; encouraging progress has been made in this direction with the volumes published so far in the series *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* and the editions of various works of Chrysostom in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*.

I suggest that we immediately need not a full revision of H.-G. Beck's *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, as previous scholars have proposed, but rather a *Clavis Patrum Graecorum Medii Aevi*. This will continue the existing *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* of Maurice Geerard, which ends with John Damascene without fully covering the eighth century. The new work will extend to the Fall of Constantinople, providing an exact and full bibliography of the editions of the entire theological production of the period as well as the secondary literature published since 1958. Based on such a Key, wherein the various works acquire reference numbers, we will be in the position of having a first, quick and trustworthy overview of both Byzantine homiletic production and research *desiderata*.

A fundamental *desideratum* concerns the writing of monographs on specific collections of homilies. Essential work on the patristic period has already been accomplished and continues to be produced, even though there are still deficiencies, even as regards important preachers like Proklos of Constantinople. In contrast, studies of this kind for the middle and later Byzantine periods are few in number and in several cases they are found in the introductions to the respective editions or even the few existing translations, such as the case of Leontios of Constantinople, Photios, Peter of Argos, Neophytos of Cyprus and Theoleptos of Philadelphia. There exist, of course, certain monographs such as those on Germanos I of Constantinople by J. List, Leo VI by T. Antonopoulou, John Xiphilinos by K. Bonis, and Neilos of Constantinople by H. Hennephof. However, a lot of work is still needed so that we can acquire a clear picture of the output of important preachers. To mention but one case that requires investigation: multiple confusion continues to prevail concerning the authors of the homilies included in the Kyriakodromia[21].

Another field that needs further work is the production of detailed commentaries on the texts. Some recent editions display a tendency to augment the apparatuses of sources and parallel passages, which

[18] On this problem in respect to the *didaskalies* of John Kastamonites, see the work of B. Katsaros, *Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς του* (Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται, 22), Thessalonica, 1988, pp. 213–219 with bibliographic references.

[19] M. B. Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete: A High-Style Preacher of the Eighth Century', in *Preacher and Audience*, pp. 267–293, esp. p. 268 n. 6.

[20] See S. Kotzabassi, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern* (Serta Graeca, 6), Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 19.

[21] On this subject, see, for example, A. Nikolopoulou, 'Τὸ ὑπ᾽ ἀριθ. 335 χειρόγραφον τῆς ἐθνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς ἑλλάδος', *ΕΕΒΣ*, 49 (1994–1998), pp. 73–85.

thereby take the place of commentaries. Even though apparatuses of this kind may be useful in various ways, such a practice should not replace the manifold and in-depth analyses of the homiletic texts, which will, in addition, be capable of attracting a large public; and we should remember that literary studies should be accessible outside the circles of specialists too.

Apart from the study of the homiletic output of individual authors and the production of commentaries, there is need for the overall consideration of specific topics, such as the examination of the date and manner in which the homiletic collections were formed, the translation of homilies into other languages, the historical and social conditions under which preaching developed, and the liturgical usage and 'liturgification' of homilies[22]. Present-day interest in such topics has become more and more apparent, as for instance, in the collaborative volume entitled *Preacher and Audience*[23]. This volume uses homilies as a basis to examine the relations between preacher and audience from the second century AD until the year 900; the editors of the book note that they have limited its extent to that period because the treatment of the following Byzantine centuries would require a separate volume[24]. Despite their common goal, there were as many approaches to the topic as there were participants in the project; this fact underlines the vividness of the subject and the prospects opened up by its study.

Given the multitude of topics that ought to be studied in the field of homiletics a noticeable need has arisen for good monographs on homiletics and hagiography as literary genres, but also we must question whether an overall treatment of Byzantine homilies is feasible at the moment. The century that elapsed since the time of Karl Krumbacher and Albert Ehrhard did not prove sufficient for filling the gaps in our knowledge and acquiring a full-scale picture of the topic.

Nonetheless, the issue is not merely the need for a monograph on the genre, but also the need to go beyond the boundaries of the genre and to consider it from the viewpoint of the author who cultivates more than one literary genre. The traditional divisions of Byzantine literature into the high style and the vernacular or into secular and ecclesiastical, as they appear in the established and always useful handbooks of Byzantine literature, has led to the partition of literature to such an extent that we lack a complete picture of the author, who felt free to cultivate his interests in various literary genres. One wonders why the secular and the theological works of the same author should typically be treated separately in these handbooks, when a joint examination of them would contribute to a better understanding of the whole work. An example that concerns homiletics is offered by John Mauropus' two homilies on Saint George, the contents of which partly overlap. The author himself reveals the reason for this in one of his epigrams (nr. 95 Εἰς τὸν δεύτερον λόγον τῶν εἰς τὸν τροπαιοφόρον). There he declares, perhaps with some humour or even apologetically, that the oration (work nr. 181) is short and 'spurious' (or 'a bastard', νόθος), having common segments with the other oration on the same subject (work nr. 182), because he composed it in a single night due to lack of time. This fact does not seem to be disturbing, however, since 'being of the same father, the two orations, like brothers, have no fear of the communion' (epigram nr. 95 ἑνὸς γὰρ ἄμφω πατρὸς ὄντες οἱ λόγοι | ἀδελφικῶς θαρροῦσι τὴν κοινωνίαν)[25]. Another, perhaps better known case is that of Emperor Leo VI, whose interests were expressed in relatively similar ways in totally different literary areas such as homiletics and legislation. Apart from the fragmentation of an author's work, the old handbooks often lack an overall assessment of the literary and spiritual output of each individual period within the development of Byzantine civilisation. It is probably excessive to insist on a single handbook to cover all these parameters, and yet the wish for one seems legitimate and desirable.

[22] On the meaning of the term 'liturgification', see T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, p. 114.

[23] See above, n. 7.

[24] See M. B. Cunningham – P. Allen, 'Introduction', in *Preacher and Audience*, pp. 1-20, esp. p. 1.

[25] See P. de Lagarde, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt* (Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Classe der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 28), Göttingen, 1882; repr. Amsterdam, 1979, p. 50; also, pp. 137–147 for the orations.

An effort to overcome these shortcomings was made in the recent history of Byzantine literature by Alexander Kazhdan, which covers the literary output of the period 650–850[26]. This book marks a development in the approach to Byzantine literature, since it poses the problematic of the nature of Byzantine literature, the literary author in Byzantium and his relationship to the various literary genres. For the first time in a history of Byzantine literature hagiography, homiletics and hymnography exist side by side with epistolography and historiography within the framework of a synchronic study of both a specific period and specific writers. In this manner, on the one hand, homiletics is set off as the indispensable literary production of the Dark Centuries and, on the other, it is connected with the rest of the literary productions of certain writers, regardless of genre.

2. Literary aspects

Having made these observations and remarks of a more general character, I will now proceed to certain issues that concern homiletics as fine writing.

For the modern reader homiletic texts do not constitute what we would call light reading, and they probably never did. Reading panegyrics of feasts or encomia of saints requires an assessment of their writers' rhetorical skill, a process to which present-day readers are not accustomed. Here the question arises whether homilies have been transmitted in their original form or whether they were reworked for publication. No answer exists that would cover all the cases, whereas generations after the author would undoubtedly have read and listened to the same text that has come down to us[27]. Furthermore, especially the homilies that deal with dogmatic or hermeneutical issues may be hard to understand, while catechetical homilies and repetitious moral teachings may in the end tire the audience. In other words, homily achieves its ends always within the framework of the teaching of the Church and, whether read or heard, it is not meant to offer sheer enjoyment apart from Christian teaching. It is first and foremost a literary genre committed to the transmission of the Christian message.

To my knowledge, there is no Byzantine handbook on the theory of homiletics, nor are there any special rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) guiding the composition of homilies. The aspiring writers of homilies, including the hagiographical encomia, which ultimately followed the precepts of the so-called imperial oration (*basilikos logos*) by pseudo-Menander, made use of practical models, which consisted of the successful homilies of earlier orators, especially of the fourth and fifth centuries, repeatedly copied and distributed via the various kinds of homiletic collections. These models functioned on the levels of content, structure and in particular style. This becomes evident in the renowned case of the 'read-out' homilies (ἀναγινωσκόμενοι λόγοι) of Gregory of Nazianzus, which were constantly being imitated by later homilists.

Besides the latter indirect testimony to the stylistic exploitation of earlier homilies by later homilists and, in this way, to the acknowledgment of their literary character, we also possess the testimony of Photios on this issue. His *Bibliotheca* contains occasional references to various homilies as well as a limited number of chapters (*codices*) exclusively or partially dedicated to homilies, mostly of the early Byzan-

[26] A. Kazhdan in collaboration with L. F. Sherry – C. Angelidi, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)* (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research. Research Series, 2), Athens, 1999. [For the second volume of this work, on the period 850-1000, see below, 'Postscript'].

[27] See, for example, D. R. Reinsch, 'Literarische Bildung in Konstantinopel im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert. Das Zeugnis der Homiletik', in *I Manoscritti Greci tra Riflessione e Dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998)* I (Papyrologica Florentina, 31), ed. by G. Prato, Florence, 2000, pp. 29–46, esp. p. 43, on the comprehension of homilies written in a demanding style by their contemporary listeners.

tine period. In particular, there are codices containing only Photios' comments, primarily concerning the content and style of a homily (for example, codices 141 and 142, where homilies of Basil the Great are praised); on the other hand, towards the end of the *Bibliotheca* some codices are found together (codd. 269–277), in which Photios largely confines himself to quoting more or less lengthy extracts from homilies. The author himself provides the main reason for this when he begins the relevant section by declaring that he has chosen to present extracts from the homilies he has read which are characterised by 'the beauty and grace of expression'[28]. There were some minor reasons for his choice which he does not specify, but which can be considered to be the doctrinal or catechetical interest of the homilies. Therefore, not only does Photios show an interest in matters of style here, as he does in regard to other works he read, but he also includes the homilies among the texts that are noteworthy from a stylistic viewpoint.

The authors themselves realised that their work was part of a specific literary tradition governed by specific rules, and they expressed explicitly their awareness. A convenient example can be taken from the work of Nicetas the Paphlagonian, who initially composed an encomium of John Chrysostom and afterwards a Life of the same saint[29], being fully aware that the two texts belonged to different genres. More specifically, the author himself characterises the encomium as a praise of the hero, whereas he declares that the Life he intends to compose will have 'a more historical and precise or rather more detailed' character (ἱστορικώτερόν τε καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἢ λεπτομερέστερον)[30]. This declaration is significant for the distinction between the panegyrical homilies on saints and the actual hagiographical texts, a distinction that is not always easy to make. Centuries later, Albert Ehrhard distinguished the two genres in a somewhat similar way as did Nicetas, defining the encomia of saints as panegyrics of a mainly hortatory character, which were delivered in church gatherings, and the Lives of saints as narrations of a primarily historical character, which functioned as instructional readings[31].

In the same Life, Nicetas compares words with colours, which are mixed skilfully, and the text with a pictorial board, which aims, according to his own words, at the 'successful imitation' of reality, so that the audience can 'see' the events he intends to narrate. This comparison is certainly not the author's invention, but appears in other literary genres as well. However, it is interesting that it is present in a hagiographical text, as it can be correlated with the rhetorical descriptions (*ecphrases*), whose presence in homilies adds to their literary character. Ecphrases appear already in homilies of the early Byzantine period, as in those of Asterios of Amasea, and have a remarkable presence in the homilies of Photios and Leo VI in the ninth century. It is noteworthy, especially for the reappearance of ecphrases of churches in Photios after a long silence[32], that in the codex on the homilies of Asterios, Photios' attention is especially drawn to two ecphrases, those of the eye and of the painting of Saint Euphemia, on which he interposes a special comment[33]. As he says, the beauty shared by the two ecphrases and the doctrinal affinity of the texts in question are strong arguments in favour of their attribution to the same author[34].

[28] Cod. 269, 497b, 36–41; R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque VIII ('Codices' 257–280)* (Collection Byzantine), Paris, 1977, pp. 76–77 with p. 226 on the problems of the text.

[29] See T. ANTONOPOULOU – S. A. PASCHALIDIS, 'Ένα ανέκδοτο κείμενο της μεσοβυζαντινής αγιολογίας: *Ο Βίος του Χρυσοστόμου του Νικήτα Παφλαγόνος*', in *Λόγια και δημώδης γραμματεία του ελληνικού Μεσαίωνα. Αφιέρωμα στον Εύδοξο Θ. Τσολάκη. Πρακτικά Θ΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης του Τομέα Μεσαιωνικών και Νέων Ελληνικών Σπουδών του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη (11–13 Μαΐου 2000)*, Thessalonica, 2002, pp. 111–122.

[30] K. DYOBOUNIOTIS, 'Ἀνέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον', *Θεολογία*, 12 (1934), pp. 51–68, esp. pp. 54–55.

[31] See K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 162, p. 181.

[32] See T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, p. 243, p. 273.

[33] Taken from cod. 271 of Photios' *Bibliotheca*, the text of the ecphrases is also found in C. DATEMA, *Asterius of Amasea. Homilies I–XIV*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 241–245: 'Appendix I'.

[34] Cod. 271, 503b, 13–20; R. HENRY, *Bibliothèque VIII*, p. 94.

Apart from the ecphrases, two other basic literary features of the homilies, especially favoured by authors who are distinguished for their rhetorical skills, are dialogues and images, to which contemporary scholars have paid some attention[35]. Fictitious dialogues, for instance among holy persons or between martyrs and their persecutors, are not at all unusual and admittedly lend the text a dramatic aspect. A borderline case of the application of this rhetorical device is the homily of Germanos I on the Annunciation[36], which consists almost entirely of two dialogues, between Gabriel and Mary and between Mary and Joseph, structured in pairs of speeches beginning with each of the letters of the alphabet. Images are constantly used in homilies, depending of course on the extent of their rhetorical flourish. One may encounter typological images from Holy Scripture, as is the case with the Theotokos, to whom Old Testament expressions are often applied, images derived from a long ecclesiastical tradition which an author may adopt and develop, such as the well-known scenes in Hades following the Resurrection of Christ, and images the author himself invents and expresses with metaphors and comparisons.

Incidentally, let us also mention a feature of homilies that has drawn particular attention on the part of modern editors, namely the rhetorical structure of periods (the employment of antitheses, anaphoras, *homoioteleuton*, etc.) and its rendering in the printed text[37]. Even though the practice becomes rather excessive at times, it is useful because it allows rhetorical figures to be immediately visible and perceivable which could otherwise escape the attention of today's reader. For the medieval reader, however, who was used to listening to texts and noticing the various rhetorical figures, the issue would not have been of major importance; this is suggested by the fact that the rhetorical structure of passages is not rendered in the manuscripts. In the tenth-century codex Vatopedi 408, which contains the homilies of Leo VI, we encounter the visual rendering of short prose hymns, which only partially coincides with the projection of rhetorical figures[38].

The publication of previously unpublished texts still holds pleasant surprises, while editions that bring together difficult-to-access and little studied homilies can also give a new impulse to the analysis of their literary qualities. I will briefly present the case of the first volume of the *Panegyrike* of St Neophytos of Cyprus, which was published recently[39]. As expected, the volume contains homilies which are traditional in theme and style, such as encomia of various saints and panegyrics of feasts. 'Traditional', however, does not mean 'conventional', since the peculiarities of Neophytos' style, for example his linguistic expression, are also present here, as in his other works, and certain peculiar narrative structures make their appearance. For instance, while short salutations (*chairetismoi*) accompanied by poetic images are customary in the homiletic tradition, Neophytos uses them as a device to develop the story that preoccupies him. Thus, in the encomium of Archangel Michael[40] the stories on the archangel and his miracles do not appear in a linear narration, but as developments of the theme of salutations.

Besides homilies which are basically traditional there are unusual texts, for example, homily 5 ('Oration concerning a monk who was deceived by demons')[41], a most beautiful lengthy narration which today's reader would consider a 'page-turner' and would equally have kept the interest of the medieval reader or listener. This is the story of a monk deceived by demons who presented a false appearance of

[35] See, for example, M. B. Cunningham, 'Innovation or Mimesis in Byzantine Sermons?', in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music. A Collection of Essays* (Oxbow Monographs, 50), ed. by A. R. Littlewood, Oxford, 1995, pp. 67–80, esp. pp. 70–72 with bibliographic references.

[36] *PG* 98, cols. 320–340.

[37] A characteristic case is the edition by C. Datema – P. Allen, *Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 17), Turnhout – Leuven, 1987.

[38] See T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, pp. 88–91.

[39] See N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi – T. X. Yagkou, *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα III. Πανηγυρικὴ Α´*, Paphos, 1999.

[40] Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi – Yagkou, *Πανηγυρικὴ Α´*, pp. 125–134.

[41] Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi – Yagkou, *Πανηγυρικὴ Α´*, pp. 141–158.

the Second Coming of Christ, with the result that the monk worshipped them and was then possessed by them, while one of them, the demon of fornication, probably possessed him permanently. Naturally, this story calls to mind and draws on the well-known traditional anecdotal stories of monks from the first Byzantine centuries and it is characteristic that it takes place in the lavras of Palestine. Neophytos also gives it the form of a catechesis for monks when he deliberately inserts comments (chap. 32–34) just before the end of the story (chap. 35), thus forcing the audience, which impatiently awaits to be informed of its conclusion, to listen to his moral exhortations first. This is a tactic aiming at keeping up the interest of his listeners, especially because, as it turns out, Neophytos does not know much about the subsequent fate of the monk.

3. Further literary aspects and research desiderata

I will now move from the subject of literary qualities to certain other questions, which are also directly concerned with the study of homiletics. Leaving aside the many issues of authenticity and dating of a great number of homilies (already noticed by Photios[42]), the first question is the examination of the sources of the homilies. It should be noted that the question of locating and indicating the sources of Byzantine secular and ecclesiastical literary texts in both textual editions and theoretical studies is determined to some degree by the notion of imitation which dominates Byzantine literature[43] as well as our scientific methodology and the way we approach the object of our research. This kind of approach has certainly yielded valuable fruits for our understanding of the way literature functioned in the civilisation under consideration. In homiletics in particular, where much work remains to be done, special studies have focussed on locating the sources of collections, such as the homiliary of Patriach Neilos[44] or the catechisms of Paul of the Monastery of Evergetis[45], and those of isolated texts, especially the pseudo-Chrysostomic ones[46].

Nonetheless, tracking down the sources should not be an end in itself; it should also be a tool for the examination of related or ensuing issues, such as the placement of the homilies in a specific environment of production. From this point of view, a most telling example is the creation of collections of homilies made up of selected passages from the homilies of certain Great Fathers of the early period, which first appear in the tenth century. These *eclogae* ('selections'), as they are usually called in the manuscript tradition, concern the homilies of Chrysostom, Basil the Great and Makarios. The former collection was compiled by Theodore Daphnopates and the latter two by Symeon the Metaphrast[47]. This activity constitutes a new facet of the traditional compilation of *catenae* and anthologies; its appearance in the tenth century could be correlated with the encyclopaedism, or the mentality of collecting[48], which was

[42] See, for example, pp. 189-190 above.

[43] As demonstrated convincingly by H. Hunger, 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–1970), pp. 17–38.

[44] H. Hennephof, *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die chrysostomische Tradition. Ein Beitrag zur Quellengeschichte der spätbyzantinischen Homiletik*, Leiden, 1963.

[45] B. Crostini Lappin, 'Originality and Dependence in the Katechetikon of Paul of Evergetis: Some Examples of Catecheses adapted from Theodore of Stoudios', in *Work and Workshop at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050–1200*, ed. by M. Mullett – A. Kirby, Belfast, 1997, pp. 178–200.

[46] See J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris, 1965 and the series *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, on which compare CPG 4685.

[47] See S. Y. Rudberg, ''Morceaux choisis' de Basile sélectionnés par Syméon Métaphraste', *Eranos*, 60 (1962), pp. 100–119, esp. pp. 100–102; H. Hennephof, *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos*, pp. 24–25, and T. Antonopoulou, 'Rediscovering a Byzantine Preacher: The Case of George the Rhetor. With the *editio princeps* of his Homilies on All Saints and on Joachim and Anna', *JÖB*, 49 (1999), pp. 161–176, esp. p. 166 with bibliographic references; on the case of Makarios, see also *CPG* 2413.1.

[48] P. Odorico, 'La cultura della Συλλογή', *BZ*, 83 (1990), pp. 1–21.

prevalent at the time. It is no coincidence that the name of Symeon the Metaphrast, famous for his work with earlier hagiographical texts, is connected with two out of three *eclogae* of the tenth century. In this case, however, we are not confronting the linguistic and stylistic elaboration of an older text, but the sewing together of segments of more than one homily of the same author in order to produce new texts. For example, Daphnopates merged related homilies of Chrysostom into two new texts on the Apostle Paul. The works resulting from this procedure can be characterised as desk-homilies[49]. Contrary to what happened to hagiographical texts, the outcome did not succeed in overshadowing the original homilies, even though, to judge from what we know so far from the manuscript tradition, these collections were also popular. The relationship of each new text to the originals needs to be thoroughly investigated in the future, in order to determine in detail the way in which older texts were reworked. This is important, since interventions, additions, omissions or modifications of the original text serve as witnesses to the interests of the compiler and, indirectly, of his era.

If the specification of the 'author's' preferences is necessary as regards the *eclogae* as well as the homilies which, as compilations, deliberately hide their true nature, this is all the more necessary in cases where sources of a general character are detected, whose use does not jeopardise the personal character of the work, but on the contrary, enriches the material at the author's disposal. We should bear in mind that, despite the committed character of homiletic literature, as I noted above[50], and its mostly standardised topics, at the same time, in his homilies each author retains his individual style and manner of handling the subject matter, though with varying degrees of success as in any literary tradition. The homilies of Chrysostom and Photios constitute characteristic examples of this individualism, standing out then and now above the mass of homilies of minor preachers.

In the context of an author's work it may be possible to investigate the evolution of his literary habits. In other words, when we have a sizeable corpus of homilies by the same author, written in a relatively extended span of time, we can and should make an effort to discern whether the time between the composition dates of the homilies is accompanied by any changes in the author's preferences with regard to content or style. Such endeavours can bear fruit, as I suggested in my study of the homilies of Leo VI[51], where the author shows an increasing preference for more abstract homilies written in high rhetorical style, always in relation with the demands of the respective homiletic type (homilies on saints, festal ones, etc.).

From the evolution of the literary figure we may proceed to the development of Byzantine homiletics, yet another topic which lacks a complete survey. Recently there have been several reflections and suggestions concerning homiletics during the first millennium and the possibility of distinguishing currents and tendencies in a given period; these reflections go hand-in-hand with an increasing interest in the subject[52]. Being the result of a first survey of the field, they do not always agree with each other and are usually reached independently of each other. Nevertheless, I believe that as far as festal homilies and encomia are concerned, one would agree that there were essentially two distinct currents, one of which emphasised doctrine, history and teaching, and another which was more rhetorical, even somewhat baroque; that is, it placed more emphasis on rhetoric without overlooking the more or less theoretical developments. These two currents coexisted and developed along parallel lines. However, in the ninth and tenth centuries preachers showed exalted interest in the cultivation of the rhetorical style, while at the same time the reflection of real life in the homilies weakened in comparison with the early Byzantine period. The

[49] On this term, see, for example, M. B. Cunningham – P. Allen, 'Introduction', p. 1.

[50] See above, p. 188.

[51] T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, pp. 252–254.

[52] See, for example, M. B. Cunningham, 'Innovation or Mimesis in Byzantine Sermons?', pp. 72 ff.; M. B. Cunningham, 'The Sixth Century: A Turning-Point for Byzantine Homiletics?', in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia, 10), Brisbane, 1996, pp. 176–186, esp. pp. 183–184; M. B. Cunningham – P. Allen, 'Introduction', pp. 7–9.

former development caused some reaction, as testified by the well-known case of Patriarch Euthymios I[53], who disapproved of the excessive use of rhetorical conventions, his own practice being consistent with his theoretical approach[54]. A few decades earlier, in the funeral oration for his uncle Plato, Theodore the Stoudite had attacked orators and sophists in general, who, with their manner of expression, pursued amongst other things 'the tickling (γαργαλισμόν) of the listeners' at the expense of truth in their speech[55]. But the fact that Theodore avoids rhetoric in his Catecheses is due not only to theoretical considerations, but also to the traditional demands of this type of homiletics and the different needs of his audience.

Although we are able to express such an opinion of the period until around the year 1000, we do not yet have at our disposal the necessary preliminary works in order to form a comparable opinion of the development of homiletics in the remaining five Byzantine centuries, apart from ascertaining that it thrives in the Palaiologan era.

One last research *desideratum* that I would like to mention is the examination of the relations between homiletics and hymnography. In the apparatuses of the editions of homilies one notices only sporadic appearance of hymnographical sources or parallels with ecclesiastical poetry, while most editors do not include references to hymnography. To a certain degree, this situation reflects an editorial shortcoming, given the abundance of the material, since preachers were nourished with hymnography and their recollections of hymns were constantly present in their minds and works. On the other hand, the need for specialised studies on the subject has been perceived and announcements of relevant new studies have been made[56]. Furthermore, aiming at filling the gaps in our knowledge of this specific subject, there appears an increasing interest in the study of the relations between the homiletic and hymnographical works of authors who were active in both genres. Andrew of Crete, John Damascene, Photios and Leo VI are only a few such writers. Certain assessments of a mostly general character which have been made on this issue emphasise an author's composition of hymns and homilies on the same topic, common ideas, and a common manner of expression[57].

4. Epilogue

Given the manifold *desiderata* of current research we are still far from the composition of a complete and dependable history of Byzantine homiletics both from an historical and a literary perspective. However, this situation should not inhibit us from including homiletics in a future history of Byzantine literature. Its presentation could be based on knowledge acquired so far and specific examples in order to support the argumentation and provide necessary proof. Furthermore, research is never static and Byzantine authors constantly disclose new and sometimes unexpected sides of their personality and work to contemporary, scientifically skilled scholars, at the same time challenging us to ponder on the possibility of alternative paths in our research.

[53] Homily on the conception of Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, *BHG* 134b: M. Jugie, 'Homélies mariales byzantines, XI', *Patrologia Orientalis*, 19 (1926), pp. 441–447, esp. pp. 443–444.

[54] On the above, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 578 and T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, pp. 108–110, pp. 257–260; compare also N. Tsironis, 'Historicity and Poetry in Ninth-Century Homiletics: The Homilies of Patriarch Photios and George of Nicomedia', in *Preacher and Audience*, pp. 295–316, esp. p. 296.

[55] *PG* 99, 804A.

[56] See, for example, Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi – Yagkou, *Πανηγυρική Α΄*, p. 103.

[57] See, for example, A. Olivar, *La Predicación Cristiana Antigua*, Barcelona, 1991, pp. 228–229; M. B. Cunningham, 'The Sixth Century', p. 180; M. B. Cunningham, 'Andrew of Crete', p. 289; A. Louth, 'St John Damascene: Preacher and Poet', in *Preacher and Audience*, pp. 247–266, esp. p. 259; T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, pp. 46–47.

Postscript to the present translation

A decade after this article was first presented at a conference, it has lost nothing of its immediacy. It was considered worthwhile, therefore, to translate it into English, thus making it accessible to a wider audience than its original publication in Greek. This appeared all the more appropriate in the context of the present *Collected Papers*, an offshoot of the *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* project, which aspires to reassess Byzantine religious manuscripts in relation to their contents and liturgical environment, an approach especially stimulating and promising for studies in the area of homiletics.

A brief bibliographic update is however necessary. Reference should at least be made to Mary B. Cunningham's well-informed lemma 'Homilies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by E. Jeffreys with J. Haldon and R. Cormack, Oxford, 2008, pp. 872–881 (with bibliographic references up to 2001), as well as to Wendy Mayer's book, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom — Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 273), Rome, 2005, which is particularly instructive for methodological issues. The second volume of Alexander Kazhdan's (rather controversial) history of Byzantine literature, which covers the period from 850 to 1000 and includes homilies in its investigation, was published posthumously: *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000),* edited by C. Angelidi (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research. Research Series, 4), Athens, 2006. In 2003 Jacques Noret published vol. III A of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum, Volumen III A. A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum. Addenda volumini III*, Turnhout 2003), which is indispensable for the period covered. In the same year a noteworthy brief history of Byzantine literature appeared, which includes homilies and is characterised by a modern approach to the subject: J. O. Rosenqvist, *Bysantinsk litteratur från 500-talet till Konstantinopels fall 1453*, Stockholm, 2003 (German translation by J. O. Rosenqvist and D. R. Reinsch: *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453*, Berlin-New York, 2007; Greek translation by I. Vassis: *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία ἀπὸ τὸν 6ο αἰῶνα ὥς τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης*, Athens, 2008). On problems related to the constitution of the *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum* in editions of Byzantine texts in general, one can consult with profit D. R. Reinsch, 'Zum Edieren von Texten: Über Zitate', in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 August, 2006 I. Plenary Papers*, ed. by E. Jeffreys, Aldershot-Burlington, VT, 2006, pp. 299–309.

A number of critical editions of homilies have appeared in the meantime. They include the first volume of the *editio maior* of the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (J. Mossay, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio Graeca I. Orationes X et XII* [Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 64 / Corpus Nazianzenum, 22], Turnhout-Leuven, 2006), the first five homilies of Proklos of Constantinople (N. Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity. Homilies 1–5, Texts and Translations* [Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 66], Leiden-Boston, 2003), the forty-two homilies of Emperor Leo VI (T. Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae* [Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 63], Turnhout, 2008), and the seven surviving sermons on Great Lent by Eustathios of Thessalonica (S. Schönauer, *Eustathios von Thessalonike. Reden auf die Große Quadragesima* [Meletemata, 10], Frankfurt am Main, 2006).

The problem of the origins of Christian preaching is the subject of A. Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching: A Search for the Origins of the Christian Homily* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 59), Leiden, 2001. On the use of dialogue in homilies mentioned in the present article and for an example of the influence of hymnography on homiletics, see M. B. Cunningham, 'Dramatic Device or Didactic Tool? The Function of Dialogue in Byzantine Preaching', in *Rhetoric in Byzantium* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 11), ed. by E. Jeffreys, Aldershot-Burlington, VT, 2003, pp. 101–113, and 'The Reception of Romanos in Middle Byzantine Homiletics and Hymnography', *DOP*, 62 (2008), pp. 251–260. On the issue

of the author – painter, see G. Dagron, *Décrire et peindre. Essaie sur le portrait iconique*, Paris, 2007, esp. pp. 83–103 ('L'ekphrasis: Rivaliser avec la peinture'). For the specific issues dealt therein, I would like to refer readers to the following articles of mine: T. Antonopoulou, 'On the Reception of Homilies and Hagiography in Byzantium: The Recited Metrical Prefaces', in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008),* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 402; Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 21), ed. by A. Rhoby – E. Schiffer, Vienna, 2010, pp. 57–79; 'A Survey of Tenth-Century Homiletic Literature', *Parekbolai*, 1 (2011), pp. 7–36 (http://ejournals.lib.auth.gr/parekbolai); and ''What agreement has the temple of God with idols?' Christian Homilies, Ancient Myths, and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 106 (2013) (forthcoming). It is worth mentioning M. B. Cunningham's *Wider than Heaven: Eighth-century Homilies on the Mother of God. Translation and Introduction*, Crestwood, NY, 2008, and 'Messages in Context: The Reading of Sermons in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries', in *Images of the Byzantine World. Visions, Messages and Meanings. Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker*, ed. by A. Lymberopoulou, Farnham, Surrey-Burlington, VT, 2011, pp. 83–98, as well as the posthumous work of J. Leroy, *Études sur les Grandes Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite*. Édition par O. Delouis avec la participation de S. J. Voicu (Studi e Testi, 456), Vatican City, 2008. To the degree that hagiographical encomia are included in it, one can now consult *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I. Periods and Places*, ed. by S. Efthymiadis, Farnham, Surrey-Burlington, VT, 2011.

In addition, a number of so far unpublished doctoral theses or theses in preparation testify to a recent surge of interest in homiletics. For example, there is the study on the homiletic-hagiographical works of Nikephoros Gregoras by E. Paraskevopoulou (University of Thessalonica, 2008).

Finally, I would like to take the opportunity to announce that an effort to satisfy the wish for a *Clavis Patrum Graecorum Medii Aevi* expressed in this article as far as homiletics and hagiography are concerned was made in the context of a research project under my direction, which ran for three years and was funded by the Research Committee of the University of Patras (www.admin.upatras.gr/rescom/Pub/KaraDisp.aspx?ID=151). As a result, a database has been created and I have been working on the material gathered with a view to publication.

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PART 3:

CATALOGUING MANUSCRIPTS IN LOCAL LIBRARIES

The study of Mount Athos manuscripts: problems and suggestions*

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Abstract
This article is an effort to provide today's scholars with a better sense of context as they undertake research related to Athonite manuscripts. It works out the following questions: how many manuscripts exist on Mount Athos and how can we know; what is the current state of cataloging of Athonite manuscripts; how should we use the numbers previously given to Athonite manuscripts; and how can our methods of cataloging these manuscripts better address the real state of affairs as well as the evolving needs of contemporary scholarship.

1. The number of Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos

So far there has been no reliable answer to the question of how many Greek manuscripts there are on Mt. Athos. Although this seems a relatively simple issue, it is not at all easy to count all manuscripts found on the Holy Mountain. This is because not all of them have been catalogued, nor do existing catalogues reflect the current state of manuscripts at every Athonite library. Since the main catalogues were first compiled – over a century ago – many changes have occurred in both the number of known manuscripts and their numbering, making it difficult to count them. It is a task that requires sound knowledge as well as diligence: the presence of each manuscript has to be verified along with its shelf number(s), so that losses, number changes, double entries as well as entries not corresponding to manuscripts (!) may be identified and, finally, so that new acquisitions may be counted. New acquisitions include manuscripts from *kellia* (cells) and other parts of a monastery or from *metochia* (dependencies) of the monastery. In both cases, the origin of each manuscript should be recorded and manuscripts of the same origin should be grouped together so that they make up a distinct sub-collection/subset within the monastery's manuscript library. If this were to be undertaken by an external scholar at all Athonite libraries, it would be a time-consuming task; this is one of the reasons – probably the main one – why no systematic counting has been attempted so far. We know this from first-hand experience[1].

However, we are attempting the first ever detailed statistical presentation of Greek manuscripts on Mt. Athos, combining our experience with the written and oral information we have gathered from various sources. Such statistics cannot be absolutely accurate, as already mentioned, but, on the one hand, we believe that any deviation from actual reality is rather small, while, on the other hand, we are hoping that the data presented in the table below will form the basis for further processing and revision[2].

* This paper, originally presented at the CBM Advisors' meeting at the PThU in Kampen, Netherlands on 6th-7th November, 2009, has now been substantially revised and extended. I want to express here my heartfelt thanks to my friend, Professor Robert W. Allison, for our discussions and for his significant help in the composition of this article.

[1] We attempted a systematic counting of manuscripts at all Athonite libraries many years ago (1986), which, however, was not fruitful due to difficulties in accessing the current state and holdings of the libraries.

[2] Reference to manuscript catalogues uses the abbreviation RO and the catalogue code number is included within the RO (J.-M. Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, Troisième édition entièrement refondue, Turnhout, 1995). The number of manuscripts includes, of course, *eiletaria* (rolls) —whether this is explicitly stated or not— and sometimes Romanian or Romanian-Greek bilingual music manuscripts. If these manuscripts are included in catalogues by Gregorios Stathis, this is recorded in the footnotes. In some cases, i.e. those of Chilandariou and

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 201-214.

 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101395

Table of Statistical Data of Greek Athonite Manuscripts

Key:
RO: (see footnote 2)
Catalogued: includes published catalogues
Unaccounted for: whereabouts is currently not known, but probably still existing in the monastery,

Monastery	**Catalogued Mss**	**Uncatalogued Mss**	**Mss Lost or Unaccounted For**	**TOTAL**
Πρωτᾶτον				
RO 1097	81			
RO 1099	36			
TOTAL				117
Βατοπεδίου				
RO[3] 1122	1536			
Rolls	26			
Uncatalogued[4]		582		
Uncatalogued of Skevophylakeion[5]		21		
TOTAL				2165
Γρηγορίου				
RO 1097	161			
RO 1108 (not mentioned in RO 1097)	24			
Uncatalogued[6]		85		
TOTAL				270
Διονυσίου				
RO 1097	586			
RO 1127	212			
RO 1128	260			

Karakallou Monasteries, the author did not record in the third column 2-3 missing manuscripts, because he knew from first-hand experience that this is usually a case of misplacement rather than of actual loss of the manuscripts in question.

3 For codices 1-102 now see E. Lamberz, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi*, v. 1, Codices 1-102, Thessaloniki, 2006.

4 Information (24.3.10) by Father Philippos, Librarian of the Monastery.

5 E. Lamberz, 'Νεώτερες έρευνες στις βιβλιοθήκες του Αγίου Όρους. Αποτελέσματα και συμπεράσματα', in *Διεθνές Συμπόσιο: Το Άγιον Όρος χθές – σήμερα – αύριο* (Θεσσαλονίκη 29 Οκτωβρίου – 1 Νοεμβρίου 1993), Thessaloniki, 1996, p. 160.

6 According to an unpublished, short, old catalogue in the author's possession.

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			4	
TOTAL[7]				**1054**
Δοχειαρίου				
Catalogued mss	(!) 430			
Uncatalogued		190		
TOTAL[8]				**620**
Ἐσφιγμένου				
RO 1097	320			
Uncatalogued[9]		50		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			16	
TOTAL				**354**
Ζωγράφου				
RO 1097	110			
Uncatalogued[10]		26		
TOTAL				**136**
Ἰβήρων				
RO[11] 1097	1386			
Sotiroudis[12]	182			
Uncatalogued[13]		640		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For[14]			14	
TOTAL				**2194**

7 Here the music manuscripts are not mentioned separately, since they are described in RO 1097, 1127, 1128. — M. Cacouros, 'La bibliothèque du monastère de Dionysiou (Athos): élargissement, nouvelles orientations et avancées du programme de catalogage', *Scriptorium*, 63 (2009), pp. 152-161.

8 This is based exclusively on information from: Amphilochios, Nikolaos Gioles, Antonios Glinos (et al.), *Παρουσία ιεράς μονής Δοχειαρίου*, Hagion Oros, 2001, p. 219α and p. 229α, but it should be noted that these numbers need clarification that is probably not included in the publication referred to above.

9 See RO 1095, p. 385.

10 According to the Film Archive of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (Thessaloniki); it is not certain that there are only 26 uncatalogued manuscripts. More might have been added by now.

11 For codices 1-100 now see: P. Sotiroudis, *Ιερά μονή Ιβήρων. Κατάλογος ελληνικών χειρογράφων*, Α' (1-100), Hagion Oros, 1998.

12 P. Sotiroudis, *Ιερά μονή Ιβήρων. Κατάλογος ελληνικών χειρογράφων*, ΙΑ' (1387 – 1568), Hagion Oros, 2007.

13 P. Sotiroudis 2007, p. [ια'].

14 P. Sotiroudis 1998, p. 252.

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
Καρακάλλου				
RO 1097	279			
Uncatalogued[15]		66		
TOTAL				**345**
Κουτλουμουσίου				
RO 1097	461			
RO 1099	308			
RO 1109 (not mentioned in RO 1097 and 1099)	2			
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For[16]			5	
TOTAL				**766**
Κωνσταμονίτου				
RO 1097	111			
RO 1107 (not mentioned in RO 1097)	1			
TOTAL				**112**
Λαύρας, Μεγίστης				
RO[17] 1135	2037			
RO 1137	106			
RO 1139	49			
Uncatalogued[18]		± 498		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			1	
TOTAL				**± 2689**
Ξενοφῶντος				
RO 1097	163			
RO 1099	63			
RO 1108 (not mentioned in RO 1097 and 1099)	38			
TOTAL				**264**

[15] The author has already prepared a short catalogue of these manuscripts which is going to be published, as soon as editing and proofreading have been concluded.
[16] See RO, p. 337 and RO 1109, p. 213 and p. 215.
[17] RO 1135 describes 2049 items, of which, however, 6 are printed and 3 are double entries.
[18] Information (25.3.10) by Father Nikodimos, Librarian of the Monastery.

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
Ξηροποτάμου				
RO 1097	341			
RO 1141 (in addition to the previous catalogue)	84			
Uncatalogued[19]		125		
TOTAL				**550**
Παντελεήμονος				
RO 1097	1027			
RO 1108 (not mentioned in RO 1097)	37			
Uncatalogued		254		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			3	
TOTAL[20]				**± 1315**
Παντοκράτορος				
RO 1097	234			
RO 1099	111			
Uncatalogued[21]		139		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			6	
TOTAL				**478**
Παύλου, Ἁγίου				
RO 1097	94			
RO 1109 (not mentioned in RO 1097)	85			
Uncatalogued		247		
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			1	
TOTAL[22]				**425**
Σίμωνος Πέτρας				
Chryssochoïdis[23]	41			

[19] E. K. Litsas, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη και τα χειρόγραφα της Μονής Ξηροποτάμου' (B' έκδοση), *Τεκμήριον*, 10 (2011-12), pp. 123-186.

[20] I use the sign ± because some numbers in Spyridon Lambros' catalogue have been replaced by others.

[21] Information (20.4. 10) by Father Theophilos, Librarian of the Monastery.

[22] See RO 1109, p. 3, which also includes 27 Romanian music manuscripts in the Greek manuscripts of the Monastery.

[23] K. Chryssochoïdis, 'Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας', in *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων και αρχείων*, B' 1978-1980, Athina, 1981, pp. 47-49.

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
RO 1108	24			
Uncatalogued[24]		+ 75		
TOTAL				+ 140
Σταυρονικήτα				
RO 1097	169			
RO 1099	35			
RO[25] 1109	27			
Mss Lost or Unaccounted For			(?) 10	
TOTAL				**221**
Φιλοθέου				
RO 1097	249			
RO 1109 (not mentioned in the RO 1097)	2			
Uncatalogued		+ 149		
TOTAL[26]				+ 400
Χιλανδαρίου				
RO 1097	105			
Litsas – Kyrou[27]	136			
TOTAL				**241**
Νέα Σκήτη Ἁγίου Παύλου				
RO 1098	39			
Uncatalogued[28]		+ 9		
TOTAL				**+ 48**

24 P. Sotiroudis, 'Παλαιογραφικά από την Ι. Μ. Σίμωνος Πέτρας', in *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Περίοδος Β'. Τεύχος Τμήματος Φιλολογίας, τόμος* τέταρτος, Thessaloniki, 1994, p. 227.

25 Included 5 Romanian music manuscripts.

26 Information (23. 3. 10) by Professor Robert W. Allison, who is compiling the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Library.

27 E. K. Litsas – D. Th. Kyrou, 'Συνοπτικός συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος των ελληνικών χειρογράφων της Μονής Χιλανδαρίου. Μέρος πρώτο', Τεκμήριον, 7 (2007), pp. 9-87; and E. K. Litsas – D. Th. Kyrou, 'Μέρος δεύτερον', *Τεκμήριον*, 8 (2009), pp. 229-270.

28 According to the Film Archive of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (Thessaloniki); the author supposes that this number must have risen, because the library numbers used in these 9 manuscripts range from 1 to 13.

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
Σκήτη Ἁγίας Ἄννης (Μ. Λαύρας)				
RO 1097	46			
RO 1157	68			
RO 1098	248			
TOTAL				**362**
Σκήτη Ἁγίου Δημητρίου (Βατοπεδίου)				
RO 1160	73			
TOTAL[29]				**73**
Σκήτη Ἁγ. Παντελεήμονος (Κουτλουμουσίου)				
RO 1161	38			
TOTAL				**38**
Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων (Μ. Λαύρας)				
RO 1097 (Kyriakon)	23			
RO 1162 (Kyriakon)	63			
Patapios (Kyriakon)[30]	156			
Kalyves[31]	~ 150			
TOTAL				**~ 391**
Σκήτη Μικρᾶς Ἁγίας Ἄννης (Μ. Λαύρας)				
RO 1098	37			
TOTAL				**37**
Σκήτη Ξενοφῶντος				
RO, p. 349		13		
TOTAL				**13**

[29] The manuscripts have been transferred to the ruling Monastery of Vatopedi (Information provided by Erich Lamberz).

[30] Patapios mon. Kafsokalyvitis, *Κατάλογος των χειρογράφων του Κυριακού της Σκήτης της Αγίας Τριάδος Καυσοκαλυβίων*, Thessaloniki, 2005.

[31] The manuscripts of the kalyvai described in RO 1162 are 187, of which 37 were transferred to Kyriakon (see Patapios mon. Kafsokalyvitis 2005, p. 377); therefore, there are now 150 left in the kalyvai. Of these, 94 from the *kalyvi* of Josaphaeoi and 8 from the *kalyvi* of St. Akakios have been transferred to the ruling Monastery of Megisti Lavra (see Patapios mon. Kafsokalyvitis 2005, p. 13).

Monastery	Catalogued Mss	Uncatalogued Mss	Mss Lost or Unaccounted For	TOTAL
Σκήτη Προφήτου Ἠλιοὺ (Παντοκράτορος)				
RO 1097	1			
Uncatalogued[32]		33		
TOTAL				**34**
Σκήτη Τιμίου Προδρόμου (Ἰβήρων)				
	20			
TOTAL				**20**
Grand totals	± 12,731	± 3202	60	**± 15,873**

A clear conclusion may be drawn from the analysis presented above: Currently there are around 15,873 Greek manuscripts on Mt. Athos, of which 12,671 (= 12,731 – 60 = 12,671) are catalogued and about 3,202 uncatalogued and, therefore, in need of original cataloguing. This is no slight number and, given modern cataloguing standards, the task of cataloguing would take many years.

The greatest problem, though, which may not be immediately perceived from the table above, is that only a very small number of the 12,671 catalogued manuscripts —specifically, 2,348 manuscripts— are included in contemporary catalogues[33]. The main bulk of manuscripts catalogued are in need of re-cataloguing. This is widely known and easily verifiable. For example, if one compares the old Vatopedi catalogue with the contemporary catalogue of the first 102 manuscripts of the same Monastery[34], it is evident that the old descriptions are hardly effective. The old catalogue is a rather unreliable list of texts contained in the manuscripts, while the new catalogue offers for each manuscript a fairly detailed description that fully records its codicological state and contained texts.

Consequently, if we subtract the 2,348 manuscripts described in modern catalogues from the total number of catalogued manuscripts (12,671), we are left with 10,323 manuscripts that are in need of re-cataloguing. That is a huge number! This is why we are so concerned —as shown below— with the problem of cataloguing and with the development of any methods that may improve and accelerate the required work.

2. The cataloguing of Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos

The cataloguing of Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos started more than a century ago. In 1895 and 1900 Spyridon Lambros published his two-volume catalogue (RO 1097) in Cambridge; this covered all major monastery collections of Mt. Athos with the exception of the Vatopedi and Megisti Lavra collec-

[32] E. K. Litsas, 'Συμβολή στη σύνταξη ενός νέου ρεπερτορίου βιβλιοθηκών και καταλόγων των Ελληνικών χειρογράφων', *Κληρονομία*, 27 (1995) [published 1996], pp. 197-198, making reference to 1 catalogued and 30 uncatalogued manuscripts; however, information (20. 4. 10) by Father Theofilos, Librarian of the Monastery, raised the number of manuscripts to 34.

[33] By contemporary catalogues I mean: RO 1099, 1107-1109, 1123, 1139, 1160, 1161 and those mentioned in notes: 3, 11, 12, 27 (short catalogue).

[34] See note 3.

tions and the manuscripts from certain sketes. The catalogue of Vatopedi, compiled later by the monk Arcadios and Sophronios Eustratiades (RO 1122), was published in 1924, and that of Megisti Lavra by the monk Spyridon and Sophronios Eustratiades (RO 1135), was published a year later in 1925. So, in the first quarter of the twentieth century about 10,850 Athonite manuscripts, i.e. almost the entire number known to exist at that time in the main libraries of the monasteries[35], were recorded in these three catalogues, which represent the first phase of the modern cataloguing of Athonite manuscript libraries.

Between 1953 and 1973, Manousos Manoussacas, and, then, Linos Politis, inaugurated the second phase in the modern cataloguing of the Athonite manuscripts, publishing what they called 'supplementary catalogues' (συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι). These catalogues, published all together in one volume (RO 1099) in 1973, include descriptions of five hundred and seventy five (575) manuscripts from 5 monasteries and 1 skete.

In 1978 Erich Lamberz and the present author published a new catalogue of the St. Demetrios skete, a dependency of Vatopedi (RO 1160, 73 mss). This was the first publication of the major project of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, which undertook to photograph, catalogue and re-catalogue Athonite manuscripts adopting a modern scholarly model of detailed descriptive cataloguing. The second product of this project, published recently in 2006 by Erich Lamberz (see note 3), includes detailed descriptive cataloguing for the first 102 Vatopedi manuscripts[36].

Besides these publications of the project of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, two more volumes of Iviron manuscripts were published in 1998 and 2007 by Panayiotis Sotiroudis (see notes 11 and 12) These volumes included descriptions for the first 100 catalogued manuscripts (published as vol. I) and numbers 1387–1568 from the uncatalogued manuscripts of the same monastery (published as vol. II). In addition, there is a volume on the manuscripts of the Kyriakon of the skete of St. Anna, a dependency of Megisti Lavra, produced by Father Patapios (see note 30), a monk of that community. It should be added here that there are three —shortly to be four— detailed volumes of Mt. Athos music manuscripts published by Gregorios Stathis (RO 1107-1109). Between 1925 and 1973 some more, small catalogues were also published (see for example nos 1127, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1157, 1161 in RO).

All these catalogues, old and new, may be classified into two groups: those compiled by monks and other non-specialists and those compiled by specialists. There is a big difference in the quality of work produced by the two groups. The old catalogues are, in effect, lists of texts and, therefore, exhibit no methodology as such. Yet, even recent catalogues prepared by non-specialists fall far below modern scholarly standards for full manuscript description.

While modern catalogues compiled by specialists are characterised by methodological awareness, they also exhibit considerable variety in their application of current methodology. Today's cataloguers invent and use their own methods, or interpret current cataloguing models in different ways. This is typical of all Greek manuscript catalogues. But if we were able, at least, to adopt a common method for cataloguing Athonite manuscripts, this alone would be a major advance, given the high numbers of manuscripts still to be catalogued and re-catalogued, as mentioned above. Such a uniform methodology, in the author's opinion, would, among other thing, help accelerate cataloguing, safeguard data recording, and allow more scholars to become involved in the task at hand, by providing them with a rule of thumb as a guideline. In other words, the high number of Athos manuscripts to be catalogued means that not only hard

[35] This figure does not include *metohia*, *kellia*, etc.; it likewise excludes manuscripts that may have been existing within the monasteries, but located outside of the main libraries at the time when these catalogues were being produced, for example, in the churches and chapels (liturgical books currently in use), in the trapeza (collections of homilies currently in use) or in the cells of individual monks.

[36] Within the same project we are expecting the catalogue of Philotheou manuscripts by Robert W. Allison and that of Vlatadon Monastery by Joost Schmithals and the present author, an appendix to Mount Athos catalogues.

work is necessary, but also consensus and cooperation of generations of scholars over a period of many years.

Such a common method ought to enable us to compile detailed catalogues but not encyclopaedias! This means that we may have to agree on the type and volume of data and related bibliographical references which must be included in the catalogue entry. Such data should be limited to what is absolutely necessary, i.e. data that fully describe the physical state of the manuscript (codicological data) and fully identify its texts and editions. However, it is hardly necessary to refer, for instance, to all editions of the texts of a manuscript or the whole bibliography relating to it, even if we have used it all for the purposes of our research. There is no need to include references to the editions of Ancient Greek writers or the Bible or liturgical books and so on – with a few exceptions, of course. I do recognise that all this might be over-optimistic; collaboration is hardly the easiest task.

3. Methodology of manuscript description in printed catalogues

As a contribution towards establishing a common method of manuscript description *in printed catalogues*[37], I will now present my views on ordering and organising the data included in the codicological description of manuscripts. Commonly used data layout is largely our inheritance from the time when philologists and cataloguers were mainly interested in text rather than codicological description of manuscripts. Over time the volume of codicological data contained in the description of the manuscript has expanded significantly. This method is still used in the Vatican and some other catalogues. A good example is the set of codicological data included in the excellent recent Vatopedi catalogue by Erich Lamberz:

Material
Physical condition
Collation
Catchwords
Ruling pattern and ruling system, writing area
Watermarks
Script and Scribes
Notes
Previous owner(s)
Binding
Bibliography

However, in light of the recent history of manuscript cataloguing, a different *order* and *organisation* may be proposed in which data will be set out in a logical sequence. By *logical sequence* in this context I mean that in the codicological description of the manuscript, the sequence of presentation of data is analogous to a reader's approach to the codex itself and that codicological data critical for understanding other codicological data should be presented first.

[37] The evolution of electronic databases reinforces the validity of the question, what constitutes a logical sequence. Unlike the printed description with its fixed sequence of presentation, the electronic description is an un-sequenced set of data searchable in any sequence that the user may desire. This development helps us to see that the priority conventionally given to the identification of texts is arbitrary, the result of the evolution of the genre dominated by interest in the texts.

In this process the exterior of the codex is to be described first, followed by the description of the interior, then, editions and/or descriptive information for all notes, whether scribal or of any other type. Finally, any bibliographical references related to the codex are to be presented.

1. Starting with the manuscript closed, the procedure is as follows:
   The binding is described in every detail including reference to its state.
2. Then, the book is opened and the interior part of the codex is described, detailing:
   The condition of the interior of the codex
   The material
   The quire structure
   The script and scribe
   The illumination
3. For each part of the description reference is made to any associated note(s). In the third part of the description we provide diplomatic editions of *all* codex notes in the following order:
   B Scribal notes
   K Founder's and Patron's notes
   A Dedicatory notes
   B/K/A Notes combining the functions mentioned above
   Σ Binding notes
   Δ Miscellaneous notes
   E Memorials
   BX Brief Chronicles or Annals
   Presenting all notes in one place is, in the author's opinion, a significant step forward, since the codex now has its life history shown in these notes and, thus, its history is presented in a nutshell. It goes without saying that notes that do not include their own dating should be dated by the cataloguer.
4. Finally, any bibliographical references related to the codex are added.

Another way to serve research is to compile short catalogues; "short", in this context, means analysing codex texts without bibliographical references and presenting a less extensive codicological analysis. For instance, there is no identification of watermarks or full analysis of the quire structure. Such catalogues could assist scholars until they are eventually replaced by new detailed catalogues. The author knows from first-hand experience that this is not without difficulties: short catalogues may be problematic, since missing data might compromise the overall picture of the manuscript. Therefore, short catalogues must be prepared with great care.

A first attempt at such a short catalogue undertaken by the author is the recent two-part publication of the Chilandariou Greek manuscripts. This catalogue comprises 136 uncatalogued Greek manuscripts or parts of manuscripts[38]. His second attempt will be a short catalogue of the Karakallou monastery manuscripts describing 66 as yet uncatalogued Greek manuscripts, almost all of which date from the sixteenth century onwards[39].

Anyway, it should be noted that none of these proposals would be necessary, if an electronic database was adopted to meet the needs addressed by such short catalogues. In that case, we could then reasonably hope that a uniform method for electronic short cataloguing would emerge. This would be an important

[38] See note 27 above. (No New Testament manuscript has been found in this collection).

[39] Only one of them is a New Testament manuscript from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

addition to the tools currently available to contemporary scholarship, both for its standardisation and for methodological purposes. Still, its relevance to short cataloguing notwithstanding, this is another issue altogether, best left for another time and venue[40].

4. Numbering of manuscripts

Finally, I give a note on the issue of manuscript numbering. Major Athonite catalogues (that by Lambros or those of Lavra and Vatopedi manuscripts) have numbered most manuscripts. Nevertheless, quite often —probably in most cases— monasteries use their own numbering system when classifying their manuscripts. In the author's opinion, new cataloguing should preserve the numbering of the major catalogues for every monastery and next to that number, in smaller font, the number of the monastery library should be added[41], otherwise great confusion will be caused, since manuscripts are known by their catalogue numbers.

To remove any doubt about the claim that the new numbering systems of the monasteries can lead to confusion, readers are urged to consider the numbers for Athonite manuscripts cited in the second edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*[42]. These numbers are not the numbers from the known catalogues, such as those by Lambros. They have emerged from different numbering systems, each specific to the monastery library in question. The use of these numbers in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* has led to widespread misunderstandings and uncertainty, since researchers were used to using the Lambros numbers, which are not quoted in the *Liste*.

We have already explained this in more detail in another paper[43], where we attached a revised list using the same numbering system for all Athonite libraries, i.e. the Lambros-style numbers, which were also used in the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste*. There was no good reason to change this standard system of numbering[44].

All of the remarks and suggestions presented above aspire to contribute towards resolving the issue of Athonite manuscript cataloguing (original cataloguing 3,202 manuscripts and re-cataloguing of 10,323 manuscripts). The high number of manuscripts makes the need for new modern catalogues imperative. But at the same time, it is an imperative, given the scale of the work and the need to eliminate confusion,

[40] It is perhaps overly optimistic to expect that any agreement on standards for uniformity of electronic cataloguing method will be achieved any time soon. In 1999 the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki undertook such a project in collaboration with the Ancient Biblical Manuscripts Center, Claremont California. The goal was to establish a database for full descriptive cataloguing that would incorporate agreed upon standards for description and methodology. The project enlisted the active collaboration of a number of consulting experts, including representatives of such current projects as Digital Scriptorium, and the Watermark Archive Initiative. Unfortunately, institutional collaboration proved to be too difficult for these two institutions to achieve at that time. Nevertheless, such an approach is conceivably more realistic for short catalogues, with their more limited emphasis on *texts*, in part because they can build on conventions that have been developed in recent years for electronic cataloguing of manuscript texts.

[41] This was not accurately complied with in the supplementary Chilandariou catalogue (see note 27 above); in that case, I introduced a third, uniform catalogue numbering system, and in each description gave the numbers of Lambros and of the Monastery in addition to the new number.

[42] K. Aland (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 1), Berlin-New York,1994[2].

[43] E. K. Litsas, 'The Mount Athos Manuscripts in the *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*', in *Κληρονομία*, 32 (2000), [published 2002], pp. 245–250.

[44] The author is only too aware of this, having been responsible for several years for the microfilm archives, as well as the photographing and cataloguing projects of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki.

that the system initiated by the major catalogues and continued in the supplementary catalogues be solidly established as a part of the official and permanent identification of the Athonite codices[45].

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P. SOTIROUDIS, *Ιερά μονή Ιβήρων. Κατάλογος ελληνικών χειρογράφων*, ΙΑ' (1387-1568), Hagion Oros, 2007.

[45] Other projects of the author related to Mount Athos manuscripts include the forthcoming publications (1) *Δείγματα γραφής ελληνικών χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους.* — (2) *Μεγαλογράμματα χειρόγραφα και σπαράγματα Αγίου Όρους 1, Μονή Μεγίστης Λαύρας.* — (3) *Χρονολογημένα χειρόγραφα Αγίου Όρους 13ου – 14ου αι., 1, Μονή Μεγίστης Λαύρας.* For nos. 2 and 3 in that list, see E. K. LITSAS 2000, pp. 220-223.

The Byzantine Manuscripts in the Central State Archive of Albania (Tirana)

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Abstract
For historical reasons, the Byzantine codices contained in the Central State Archive of Albania are little known to the general public. Only a few scholars have shown interest in these codices, and then mainly in those pertaining to the Scriptural corpora. The sole catalogue of these codices is the one that has been compiled on the basis of descriptions made by Theofan Popa. Although this has several limitations, and is in many respects outdated, it remains for the present a good point of departure for the study of these codices. Since this catalogue – as well as a catalogue of the Scriptural manuscripts edited by R. Mullan – are only available in Albanian, here there is a brief presentation of the entire Archive Codex Fund 488, based both upon catalogues and a personal examination of a few homiletic codices.

1. Introduction

The codices kept in the *Central State Archive of Albania* in Tirana, including the Byzantine ones, are little known to the general public. This is due to historical events in Albania and its political isolation in the past, since most of the codices are of religious content and were therefore not easily accessible in an atheist, communist country. Even the few scholars who did approach these manuscripts showed an interest mainly in New Testament and Old Testament corpora codices[1], ignoring the rest. Their main interest was directed towards the text itself. This article intends to present the whole Archive Codex Fund 488, the collection of Byzantine codices in their present state of preservation[2]. The presentation offered here is based mainly on the catalogue of Theofan Popa, which is the catalogue currently used in the Archive. This catalogue is only available in Albanian and thus difficult for non-Albanian speakers to

[1] For New Testament scholars interested in Albanian Greek manuscripts see: P. Battifol, *Evangeliorum codex graecus purpureus Beratinus Φ*, Paris, 1885, pp. 358-376; P. Battifol, *Les manuscripts grecs de Bérat d'Albanie et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, Paris, 1887, pp. 437-556; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, 4th ed. ed. by E. Miller, 2 vols., London, 1894, pp. 166-168; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Bd. I-III, Leipzig, 1900-1909, 'Griechische Handschriften: Berat', p. 1471; H. Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, 2 vols, Göttingen, 19112, 'Bibliotheken: Berat', p. 74; K. Aland, (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage, Berlin-New York, 1994, 'Bibliotheksverzeichnis: Berat (Albanien)', p. 452 and Tirana (Albanien); R. Mullen, 'Doreshkrimet biblike që gjenden në Arkivin Qendror të Shtetit në Shqipëri (Tiranë), të kataloguar në Fondin 488', (Biblical manuscripts found in the Central State Archives in Albania (Tirana) catalogued in Fund 488)', in *Kodikët e Shqipërisë (Codices of Albania)*, Tiranë, 2003, pp. 215-232. For the Greek Old Testament codices see: A. Rahlfs, 'Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen', in *Nachrichten der koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philolologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, pp. 1-443, see p. 27.

[2] Updated (although still incomplete) information concerning the codices preserved in the Central State Archive. Earlier catalogues are provided in M. Richard, J. M. Olivier, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs*, troisième édition, Turnhout, 1995, 'Berat [Shqipëria]', pp. 144-146, with the remark on p. 145 'Il n'y a aujourd'hui plus aucun ms. Grec à Berat'. See 'Tiranë [Shqipëria]', pp. 788-789.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 215-234.

 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101396

use. The catalogue was compiled by the Archive based on the descriptions that Theofan Popa made of each codex and it is therefore known among scholars as 'Popa's Catalogue'. The catalogue was published in the collected papers edition of the Archive in 2003[3]. Earlier catalogues are that of Pierre Batiffol (1887: describes shortly 16 codd), Anthimus Alexoudes I (1896-1897: codd. 1-46 and 48), Anthimus Alexoudes II (1900-1901: 46 codd, with more extended descriptions)[4], of Johannes Koder – Erich Trapp (1968: limited only to 25 manuscripts)[5]. Even though still in use, mostly outside Albania, this catalogue remains limited and out of date. In 2003, Roderic L. Mullen also made a catalogue of the Scriptural manuscripts that the Archive possesses[6]. Mullen's catalogue follows Popa's numbering, but also provides the Aland number. In this article, this number is displayed in brackets on the right side of the Archive number. In many cases there is uncertainty concerning the Aland number[7]. Mullen's catalogue also focuses on New Testament corpora, even though he does include some homiletic codices. These homiletic codices contain the Scriptural text alongside the homiletic material and are therefore important for text critical purposes.

There is presently a new initiative underway for a complete new catalogue thanks to a collaborative project between the Central State Archive of Albania and the newly-found Historic and Palaeographic Archive of the Orthodox Church of Albania. This initiative is being led by two young scholars Sokol Çunga and Andi Rëmbeci, under the guidance of the well-known palaeographer and scholar Agamemnon Tselikas, the director of the Historical and Palaeographic Archive of the National Bank Cultural Foundation of Greece. This new catalogue will provide more scientific details and information on the codices and their content. Until it is completed, Theofan Popa's catalogue remains a good point of departure.

I consulted by autopsy only a few codices, mainly homiletic ones. My main interest was in the content of the codex and not so much in other palaeographic elements. My own remarks will be marked in the description of each codex in the article.

The Albanian Archive was created in the year 1949 by decree of the government of that time. The earliest documents that the Archive possesses are the codices. The Codices Fund 488 contains 100 codices and 17 codex fragments[8]. From 1967, the year in which Albania became an atheist country and declared illegal every form of religious expression, codices from all over the country were collected in the Central State Archive[9]. In the 1970s, Theofan Popa was asked to describe the different codices. Popa was an Or-

[3] Th. Popa, 'Katalog i Kodikëve Kishtarë Mesjetarë të Shqipërisë', ('Catalogue of Medieval Codices of Albania'), in *Kodikët e Shqipërisë (Codices of Albania)*, Tiranë, 2003, pp. 85–205.

[4] M. Richard, J. M. Olivier 1995, pp. 144-146 [Α. Δ. Αλεξουδη, Ἱερὰ Βιβλία ἐν Μεμβράναις Χειρόγραφα in *Σύντομος Ἱστορικὴ Περιγραφὴ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Βελεγράδων*, Corfu, 1898, pp. 113-115; Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς συνοικίας Κάστρου, πόλεως Βερατίου τῆς Μητροπόλεως Βελεγράδων εὑρισκομένων ἀρχαίων χειρογράφων in *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1896-1897, pp. 352-369; and Κώδικες ἐπαρχίας Βελεγράδων in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, v. XX (1900), pp. 485-486, 509-511, 525-527, 537-538, 544-545; v. XXI (1901), pp. 15-16, 55-56, 71-72, 160, 299, nos 554-555; and P. Battifol, *Les manuscripts grecs de Bérat d'Albanie et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, (Archives des Missions Scientifiques et littéraires, 3[eme] série, tome XIII), Paris, 1887, pp. 437-556, nos 556-557].

[5] J. Kodder, E. Trapp, 'Katalog der griechischen Handschriften im Staatsarchiv zu Tirana', in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft XVII*, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1968, pp. 197-214. Cf. M. Richard, J. M. Olivier 1995 [nos 2308-2309, 2313] for contributions of Lackner 1971 [suppl. to codd 20 and 25], Koder 1972 [two codices Beratini 1 and 2], Buda 1972.

[6] R. Mullen 2003, p. 216. (There is no information as to whether this article has also been published in English or another language.)

[7] Since the codices in Albania were difficult to consult for a long time, many of the palaeographical data in Gregory, Von Soden and Aland are uncertain, insufficient, or wrong. Mullen contributed to their improvement, but further catalogue work is necessary.

[8] Sh. Sinani, *Arkiva të hapur në shoqëri të hapur (Opened Archives in an Opened Society)*, Tiranë, 2002, pp. 28-29.

[9] Sh. Sinani 2002, p. 101.

thodox theologian, who, after the closure of the Church, did everything he could to save monuments of the Orthodox Church, such as codices, icons, vestments, vessels and even churches and monasteries. The Archive collected these descriptions and gave every codex a number, thus creating the Codices Fund 488. This numbering was based on two criteria: the dating of the codex, even though in many cases this dating is not precise[10], and on the new entries in the Codex Fund. Thanks to Popa's theological training and his knowledge of Greek, the Archive thus possesses a catalogue of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts, which is the most complete to date. However, there are still difficulties when using the different catalogues[11]. It is not always very clear to which codex the different catalogues refer and even the efforts of Mullen, for example, ended up with solutions of probability. This article does not aim to solve this issue, but only to briefly present the codices of the Albanian Central State Archive.

Before presenting the codices, we will make a few remarks on the Popa and Mullen catalogues (2003). Neither of the catalogues provides references to Richard-Olivier (1995), or to other referential standard works, like Geerard. There are no catalogue and bibliographical references in Popa and very limited references in Mullen (for instance, no references to Gregory I-III, Von Soden, Rahlfs, Ehrhard, etc.). Both catalogues provide only short codex descriptions. The liturgical apparatuses in Tetraevangelion or homiletic codices are not provided (Synaxarion and Menologion tables at the beginning or at the end; calendar notes in upper or lower margins; arche-telos signs in left or right margins or interlinear; liturgical pericope numbers in the left or the right margins). Details concerning Evangelion subtypes and their structure are also not provided (full = *l*e, middle = *l*esk, small = *l*sk/k, selected = *l*sel).

The codices will be presented in groups according to their type and their function in the liturgy and beyond. The codices will be divided into the following groups:

a. Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices
b. Praxapostolos (Praxeis) and Apostolos codices
c. Psalterion codices
d. Homiletic codices
e. Other Liturgical codices
f. Patristic and Ascetical codices
g. Hagiological codices
h. Musical codices
i. Canon Law and other various codices

The numbering of the codices is that of the Archive (Popa). The corresponding Aland numbers for the NT corpora group are taken from Mullen[12] and will be provided below. The name of the town after the codex number shows its provenance.

[10] Sh. Sinani 2002, pp. 101-102.

[11] The codices came from different places to Tirana (Berat, Vlora, Gjirokastra, Korça, Ardenica, Elbasan, Tirana, Fier, Shkodra) and from different churches and monasteries. This is reflected in Popa's codex signatures, like 'Codex 3, of Berat'. The earlier heritage of the NT corpora codices is indicated in Gregory and Von Soden (Berat: Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κοιμήσεως, Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κοιμήσεως (Μεγαλαίνιον), Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ). It remains very important to gather information about the original provenance of the codices.

[12] R. Mullen 2003, p. 216. The references to Mullen's list will not be noted in the footnote. See also the concordant table of the NT corpora: Popa/Mullen – Aland.

2. The codices of the Albanian Central State Archive

2.1 Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices[13]

Beratinus 1: The most important codex in the Archives is *Codex Beratinus 1*, or *Codex Purpureus Beratinus* (Gregory-Aland 043). *Beratinus 1* is a Tetraevangelion parchment codex, but only the Gospel of Mathew and Mark are preserved[14]. Its dimensions are 314 x 268 mm. This codex has 190 folia and is written in majuscule letters. The parchment is in purple, although this has faded nowadays. The letters are of melted silver and some words are written in gold. The writing is calligraphic and continuous with no space between the words, whereas initials are big, but not decorated. The text is presented in two columns with 17 lines each. The codex was severely damaged during World War II, being hidden for a long time in the city of Berat. It has been restored, but it still is very damaged. Popa himself, in his catalogue, does not give any date to this codex[15]. Battifol argues that the codex dates from the sixth century and calls it Codex Φ[16].

Beratinus 2: This Tetraevangelion codex is called by Batiffol *Codex Aureus Anthimi*, in honour of the Metropolitan of Belegradon (today Berat), Anthimus Alexoudes, who had helped Batiffol to see the antiquities of Berat[17]. The codex (Gregory-Aland 1143) is in parchment and also in purple with light blue nuances. It has 420 folia, each with one column of 17 lines of text. The codex was also decorated with four images of the evangelists, but only three of them have survived and are quite damaged, those of John, Mark and Luke. Based on the writing with small golden letters, on the undeveloped initials, on geographic and floral decorations and on the elegant way of portraying the images, Popa believes that this codex can be dated in the second half of the ninth century or even in its last decades[18]. According to Battifol, the Tetraevangelion also contains the notes of Eusebius in the margins. The text is in the tradition of other Byzantine texts and therefore very correct. Battifol dates this codex to the tenth century[19], a century later than Popa.

Codex 3, of Berat (Aland 2372): Evangelion in parchment, 280 x 180mm, 145 folia, writing in brown, two columns, 25 lines per column, titles in maroon brown. Popa gives many details on the physical condition of the codex, but not on its content. He dates it to the second half of the ninth century[20].

Codex 4, of Berat (Aland 1141): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 205 x 160mm, 238 folia, one column, 25 lines per column, writing in reddish light brown, notes, titles and initials in gold, decorations and images of the Evangelist, except Mark. It includes the canons that indicate the pericopes to be read during the feasts of the year and the canons of Eusebius with some notes. Popa dates the codex to the tenth century[21].

Codex 5, of Vlora (Aland 2252): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 230 x 180, 308 folia, one column, 22 lines per column, decorations and images of the Evangelists. The codex begins with nine canons. At the

[13] 'Tetraevangelion' refers to a codex containing the full continuous text of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, whereas 'Evangelion' refers to a Gospel text divided in pericopes, which is known as a lectionary.

[14] P. Battifol 1885, 1887; F. H. A. Scrivener 1894, pp. 166-168 (Plate XV); C. R. Gregory I 1900, pp. 93-94; H. Von Soden 1911, p. 120; Sh. Sinani 2003, pp. 233-251.

[15] Th. Popa 2003, p. 87.

[16] P. Battifol 1887, pp. 446-456.

[17] P. Battifol 1887, p. 443.

[18] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 87-88.

[19] Battifol, *Manuscripts*, p. 445.

[20] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 88-89.

[21] See pp. 89-90.

end, there are 10 gospel pericopes added at a later time. Popa dates this codex in the middle of the eleventh century[22].

Codex 6, of Berat (Aland 1204): Evangelion in parchment, 210 x 190, 50 folia, two columns text, 26 lines per column, decorated initials. This codex dates from 1043[23]. Popa does not give any information on the content of the codex.

Codex 7, of Vlora (not listed in Aland): Evangelion in parchment, 270 x 220mm, 287 folia, writing in minuscule letters in brown, two columns, 21 lines per column, decorated initials in gold and in blue. Popa compares the decorations with other codices and dates it between the tenth and eleventh century[24]. No information is given on the content of the codex.

Codex 8, of Berat (Aland no data): Evangelion in parchment, 264 x 214mm, 348 folia, different calligraphic writings, two columns text written by at least three different hands, decorations. Popa dates it to the eleventh century, but gives no information on its content[25].

Codex 9, of Berat (Aland no data): Evangelion pericopes in parchment, 315 x 240mm, 151 folia, two columns. The codex seems to be of mixed content, since it contains Gospel pericopes, poems on martyrs, hymns with Byzantine music notation, or even pericopes from the Epistles. However, Popa labels this codex as an Evangelion codex and dates it to the second half of the eleventh century or even the beginning of the twelfth century[26].

Codex 10, of Vlora (Aland 2253)*: Tetraevangelion in parchment, 282 x 203mm, 305 folia, one column text, writing in brown, titles in golden capital letters, images of the Evangelists and the most beautiful decorations in the Archive, according to Popa. There is no data on the content. The codex dates from the end of the eleventh century or even the beginning of the twelfth century[27].

Codex 11, of Vlora (not listed in Aland): Evangelion in parchment, 320 x 255mm, 254 folia, old type calligraphic writing in minuscule letters in brown, two columns, different number of lines per column, Gospel titles in gold capital letters, decorated and big letter initials. Popa believes that the codex dates from no earlier than the end of the twelfth century and gives no details on the content[28].

Codex 13, of Berat (Aland 758): Evangelion in parchment, 350 x 377mm, 320 folia. Popa gives no data on the writing or the content, but says that the codex can be dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century[29].

Codex 15, of Berat (Aland 2244): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 210 x 165mm, 256 folia, one column, late type calligraphic writing in brown, titles of the pericopes in gold and written on the side of the gospel

* See Picture 2: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 10 of Vlora, folio 17r, Tetraevangelion; and Picture 3: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 10 of Vlora, folio 150v, Icon of St Luke.

22 See pp. 90-91.

23 See pp. 91-92.

24 Th. Popa 2003, p. 92.

25 See p. 93.

26 See pp. 93-94.

27 See pp. 94-95.

28 See p. 96.

29 See p. 97.

text. Popa states that the Gospels are divided in chapters, but it is not clear what kind of chapters. He dates this codex between the eleventh and the twelfth century[30].

Codex 16, of Berat (Aland probably 882): Evangelion in parchment, 274 x 188mm, 161 folia, late type writing in brown, one column, with 12 – 13 lines per column, titles of the pericopes in capital letters. There are no data on the content. Popa dates the codex to no earlier than the thirteenth century[31].

Codex 19, of Berat (Aland 1709-2353 [the codex is divided into two parts and dislocated, one part is in Tirana and one in Ann Arbor]): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 155 x 115mm, 195 folia, late type writing in brown, one column. Popa gives details on the physical condition and on the lacking folia, but not on the content of the codex. He dates it between the twelfth and the thirteenth century[32].

Codex 21, of Berat (Aland 1207): Evangelion in parchment, 216 x 153mm, 40 folia (folio 41 is in paper and has no text), late type of writing in dark brown ink, one column, 20 lines per column. In folio 37 it is written that the codex was copied in 1181, by Ioannicus the deacon[33]. The number of folia indicates that the codex does not contain all the material of an Evangelion. However, Popa does not give any information on the content of the codex.

Codex 22, of Berat (Aland 1433): Evangelion in parchment, 258 x 220mm, 172 folia, late type of writing in light brown, two columns, 22 – 23 lines per column, in some folia titles and initials in red. There are no data on the content of the codex, which is dated by Popa between the twelfth and the thirteenth century[34].

Codex 24, of Berat (not in Aland): Evangelion in parchment, 330 x 226mm, 252 folia, late type writing in dark brown, one column, and 27 lines per column. The codex contains an image of the Evangelist Mark. Popa dates the codex to the fifteenth century. In folio 251 there is a note of dedication and the year 6946 (1438). There are no data on the content[35].

Codex 26, of Berat (Aland 2246): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 180 x 140mm, 185 folia, one column, 19 lines per column, late type writing in reddish brown, accents in red. Every Gospel is preceded by a list of pericopes, apart from Matthew, whose list is missing. The codex has no decorations and Popa dates it at the end of the fourteenth century[36].

Codex 29, of Berat (Aland probably 1711): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 240 x 175mm, 186 folia, one column, 22 lines per column, late type calligraphic writing in dark brown, titles in capital letters. At the end of each Gospel there are notes in red. A homily of Saint John Chrysostom at the end of the codex is partially preserved. Popa dates the codex at the beginning of the thirteenth century[37].

[30] See pp. 98-99.
[31] See p. 99.
[32] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 100-101.
[33] See p. 102.
[34] See pp. 102-103.
[35] See p. 104.
[36] See pp. 106-107.
[37] See p. 109.

Codex 35, of Berat (Aland probably 2247): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 185 x 130mm, 428 folia, one column, 26 lines per column, late type of calligraphic writing in light brown, titles in capital letters, initials colourfully decorated. Every Gospel is preceded by the image of the evangelist apart from John. Popa says that the codex cannot be older than the fourteenth century[38].

Codex 36, of Berat (Aland probably 1209): Evangelion in paper, 320 x 216mm, 127 folia, middle type calligraphic writing in brown, two columns, decorated pericope initials. At the end of the last folio the year 6830 (1322) is found. There are no data on the content[39].

Codex 38, of Berat (Aland probably 1705 or 1708): Tetraevangelion in paper, 250 x 195mm, 239 folia, late type writing in brown, one column text, 21 – 22 lines per column, big letter decorated initials, images of the Evangelists. Popa says that the beginnings of the pericopes are in capital letter and decorated with flower motives. It is not clear what he means by this, since the codex is a Tetraevangelion, thus a continuous text. Popa dates the codex in the fourteenth century[40].

Codex 76, of Berat (probably not listed in Aland): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 210 x 157mm, 86 folia, not complete, late type writing in brown, one column, 19 lines per column, titles and initials in light brown. Only the Gospel of Mark is preserved, together with a small part of the beginning of Luke and of the end of Matthew. Popa dates it at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century[41].

Codex 77, of Berat (Aland probably 1208): Evangelion in thick parchment of low quality, 240 x 158mm, 198 folia, late type of writing in brown, one column, titles and initials in red. The codex contains pericopes for feasts, but also for daily usage. There are folia missing at the beginning and at the end of the codex, as well as the tables indicating the day in which a pericope is read. Popa dates the codex to the last decades of the fourteenth century[42].

Codex 79, of Gjirokastra (Aland 2514): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 199 x 135mm, 303 folia, late type calligraphic writing in brown, 21 lines per column, initials decorated and in red, but not big. The codex has only the images of the Evangelists John and Luke. Popa dates this codex in the fourteenth century[43].

Codex 85, of Korça (not listed in Aland): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 212 x 155mm, 221 folia, one column, 26 lines per column. Only the image of Evangelist Luke is preserved. Popa does not give many details on the content, but dates it in the fourteenth century[44].

Codex 88, of Berat (not in Aland): Evangelion in parchment, 250 x 193mm, 93 folia preserved, calligraphic late of type writing in brown, two columns text 22 lines each, big initials in red, pericope titles in red. The codex lacks many folia and it begins with the verse in Luke 1.43. Popa dates it to the end of the fourteenth century[45].

38 See p. 114.
39 Th. Popa 2003, pp. 114-115.
40 See pp. 116-117.
41 See pp. 161.
42 See pp. 161-162.
43 See pp. 162-163.
44 See pp. 165-166.
45 See p. 168.

Codex 89, of Berat (not in Aland): Evangelion in parchment, 255 x 210mm, 52 folia, late type of artistic writing in brown, two columns, 20 – 21 lines per column, titles and initials in gold. Popa gives an analytical list of pericopes or parts of pericopes that are saved in the codex. He dates it to the last decades of the fourteenth century[46].

Codex 92, of Korça (probably not in Aland): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 195 x 133mm, 420 folia, middle type continuous writing in red, one column text, 17 lines per column, calligraphic Gospel titles and decorations. Popa dates it at the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth[47].

Codex 93, of Korça (probably not listed in Aland): Tetraevangelion in parchment, 153 x 120mm, 309 folia, middle[48] type writing in brown, lines in form of the cross up to folio 281 and afterwards in one column, titles of the pericopes at the heading of the page, initials in big letters in gold and decorated. Popa dates this codex at the beginning of the twelfth century[49].

Codex 90, of Berat: Eothina Evangelia in paper, 150 x 100mm, 106 folia. It contains the 11 Eothina pericopes that are read in the Matins of Sundays. They are set to music and the text is divided according to the musical notes. Some words of the text remain difficult to be read. Popa dates the codex at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century[50].

2.2 Praxapostolos (Praxis) and Apostolos codices

Codex 17, of Berat (Aland 1764)*: Praxis codex in parchment, 220 x 155mm, 99 folia, calligraphic late type of writing, initials in brown. Popa dates the codex at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth[51]. There are no data on the content, so it is not possible to know if the text is presented in pericopes or if it is a continuous text.

Codex 98, of Ardenica: Apostolos codex in parchment, 142 x 122mm. This codex is not catalogued by Popa. The codex contains the continuous text of the Epistles preceded by an introduction to the letter. However, the order is not the usual present-day order. It begins with the first Epistle of John and it ends with the Epistle to Titus. There are also marginal notes. The description does not specify the function of these notes. Simoni, who catalogued this codex, dates it between the twelfth and the thirteenth century[52].

2.3 Psalterion codices

Codex 18, of Berat: Psalterion in parchment, 285 x 235mm, 175 folia, late type of writing, one column, notes in smaller letters and in light brown. The codex begins with Psalm 9, since the first folia are missing, and ends with Psalm 150. Popa dates it to the twelfth century[53].

* See Picture 4: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 17 of Berat, 14r, Praxeis.
[46] Th. Popa 2003 pp. 169-170.
[47] See pp. 171-172.
[48] It is not clear what Popa means with 'middle type wrting'.
[49] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 172-173.
[50] See p. 171.
[51] See p. 100.
[52] See pp. 175-177.
[53] Th. Popa 2003, p. 100.

Codex 50, of Berat: Psalterion in paper, 205 x 135mm, 198 folia, late type writing in black, one column text, titles and initials in red. In folio 197v the year 6919 (1411) is found. The codex contains the 150 psalms and the odes[54].

Codex 64, of Berat: Psalterion in paper, 233 x 140mm, 134 folia, late type writing in brown, titles in red. The codex contains the psalms and the odes. Popa writes that the text is almost the same as the critical text of Rhalfs. The codex is dated between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century[55].

Codex 32, of Berat: codex in paper, three volumes, 215 x 146mm, 407 folia, different writing for each volume, one column. The first volume is a Psalterion. The initial pages of the two other volumes are missing, but one volume seems to contain different theological, historical and moral topics, while the others are dogmatic ones. The psalms in the first volume are not numbered, so their quantity cannot be known exactly, but it seems that it begins with Psalm 1 and it ends with Psalm 150. Popa hesitantly dates the codex to the thirteenth century[56].

2.4 Homiletic codices

Codex 12, of Berat (Aland 1707): Homiletic commentary in parchment, 222 x 166mm, 603 folia, middle type calligraphic writing, one column text, 20 lines per column. Popa dates it to the second half of the eleventh century[57]. I personally studied the content of the codex and it appears that the codex begins with an introduction. The 18 exegetic homilies are always preceded by the respective text from the Gospel of John. The Gospel text is marked by the double right-pointing quotation marks (») in red. The signs of Eusebius' tables are also found in the margins of the text. However, their accuracy remains to be studied.

Codex 27, of Berat (Not in Aland)*: Homiletic commentary in parchment, 320 x 220mm, 194 folia, middle type of writing in brown, one column, 32 lines per column. Popa dates it to the thirteenth century[58]. From personal study, it resulted that the codex contains 28 homilies, homilies 49 to 90. The last number (ϟ΄ 90) is not clear, since the number of homilies ought to be higher. The last homily is incomplete. The exegetic homilies are preceded by the respective text from the Gospel of Mathew and are marked with the double right-pointing quotation mark (») in the same colour as the text.

Codex 34, of Berat: Homiletic collection[59] in parchment, 258 x 165mm, middle type writing in dark and light brown. Popa does not give the number of folia, but he presents a detailed list of the content of the codex. He classifies the codex as patristic literature, but it is clear from the table of content that the codex contains homilies that follow a mixed order of immovable and movable feasts. Some of the homilies could even be classified as hagiological homilies. There is no dating for the codex in Popa's catalogue[60].

* See Picture 5: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana) Codex 27 of Berat, 37r, Hermeneia (Commentary).

[54] See pp. 126-127.

[55] See pp. 151-152.

[56] See p. 111.

[57] See pp. 96-97.

[58] See pp. 107-108.

[59] This is a general term that would need to be specified for every specific codex, after a more thorough analysis based on liturgical and codicological criteria.

[60] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 112-113.

Codex 58, of Berat: Homiletic collection in paper, 216 x 136mm, 132 folia, late type of writing in brown, one column, titles and some initials in red. Popa classifies the codex as patristic literature, but it contains homilies on different feasts. The first one is on the life and works of Saint Gregory, Archbishop of Constantinople. Other homilies are on the Annunciation of the Virgin, on the Nativity of Christ, and so on. The codex is written by priest Gregory, probably a clergy of the city of Berat. Popa dates it to the end of the fourteenth century[61]. From personal study, it appears that there does not seem to be a clear calendar based order of the homilies, even though they are on the feasts of the Church calendar. Some homilies have the liturgical formula εὐλόγησον πάτερ (Father bless) and some εὐλόγησον δέσποτα (Master bless). A few have no formula.

Codex 75, of Gjirokastra (Aland 1709): Homiletic collection in paper, 215 x 155mm, 431 folia, late type of writing in black, titles and initials in red. Popa describes the codex as Gospel pericopes and homilies and gives a list of all the homilies, but fails to list the last three. He dates the codex to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century[62]. From personal study, it appears that the codex also contains the Gospel pericopes, which precede the respective homilies and are marked by single right-pointing quotation marks in red (>). The homilies follow the Church calendar of movable feasts, starting from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee. The possible table of contents is missing. The liturgical formula εὐλόγησον π (άτ)ερ (father bless) is found in every homily.

2.5 Other liturgical codices

Codex 62, of Berat: Typicon in paper, 157 x 117mm, 264 folia, one column, late type of writing in dark brown, initials in red. The codex contains the Typicon of the Eastern Church. Popa dates it to the end of the fourteenth century or even the beginning of the fifteenth century[63]. I personally studied the content of the codex. It begins with the order of the immovable feasts, September – August, it continues with the Triodion and it ends with the Pentecostarion. In folio 185v there are notes written by Monk Marcus, which explain the usage of the Typicon.

Codex 33, of Berat: Synopsion in parchment, 203 x 150mm, 142 folia, middle type writing in light brown, one column, 24 lines per column, initials and titles in capital and in maroon. Popa classifies this codex as a Synopsion or Calendar of the Liturgical Year and it contains the feasts of the year and for important feasts it also contains the order of the office. It also indicates the readings during the Triodion period. It is dated between the twelfth and the thirteenth century[64].

Codex 42, of Berat: Menaion in thick paper, 250 x 212mm, 200 folia, late type writing in black, one column text, big initials in red. It contains the feasts of September, October, November and December. Popa dates this codex at the end of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth century[65].

Codex 43, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 300 x 210mm, 117 folia, one column text, late type calligraphic writing in dark brown, titles in red. It contains the feasts of March, even though Popa also classifies it as a codex containing Lives of Saints, probably referring to the Menaion itself. He dates it between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century[66].

[61] These data are from Popa's catalogue pp. 147-148 and from my personal study of the codex.
[62] Th. Popa 2003, pp. 158-161.
[63] See, p. 150.
[64] Th. Popa 2003, p. 112.
[65] See p. 121-122.
[66] See p. 122.

Codex 44, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 380 x 194mm, 163 folia, late type writing in black, one column text, titles and initials in red. It contains the feasts of December. There is no dating in Popa's catalogue[67].

Codex 45, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 395 x 350mm, 358 folia, late type writing in brown, two columns text, initials in maroon. It contains the feasts of December, January and February. It is dated in the first half of the fourteenth century[68].

Codex 46, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 270 x 206mm, 164 folia, writing from different hands, one column and two columns text. The codex contains a part of the feasts of February, the feasts of March and April. Popa dates it to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century[69].

Codex 48, of Berat: Codex in paper, 210 x 152mm, 99 folia preserved, late type writing in brown. This codex has a mixed content. It contains a certain abbreviated Menaion for all the months, starting from September, hymns from the Triodion and exhortations to the monks at the end. Popa gives no dating to the codex[70].

Codex 52, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 280 x 215mm, 206 folia, late type writing in black, one column text, titles and initials in red. It contains the feasts of January. The codex is written in 6937 (1429)[71].

Codex 54, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 280 x 206mm, 181 folia, late type writing in dark brown, notes and initials of odes in red. The last two folia are in parchment. It contains the feast of December. Popa dates it in the first decades of the fifteenth century[72].

Codex 55, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 280 x 205mm, 231 folia, late type writing in dark brown, one column, titles in light brown. It contains the feasts for September, October, November, December, January and parts of February; the rest is lost. Popa dates it in the first decades of the fifteenth century[73].

Codex 56, of Berat: 280 x 220mm, 203 folia, late type writing in dark brown, one column, big initials in maroon and decorated. The codex is damaged and its content is not easy definable. It contains parts of the Menaion of April and May, as well as other hymns, which Popa does not assign to any month. He dates the codex at the beginning of the fifteenth century[74].

Codex 57, of Berat: Menaion in thick paper, 205 x 220mm, 122 folia, late type writing in dark brown, one column, titles and initials in red. It contains the hymns for the feasts of March and half of April. Popa dates it in the first decades of the fifteenth century[75].

Codex 63, of Berat: Menaion in paper, 213 x 142, 306 folia, late type writing in brown, one column, titles and notes in red. It contains the feasts of October. It can be dated at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century[76].

[67] See pp. 122-123.
[68] See p. 123.
[69] See pp. 123-124.
[70] See pp. 14-15.
[71] See p. 128.
[72] Th. Popa 2003, p. 129.
[73] See p. 129-130.
[74] See p. 130.
[75] See p. 147.
[76] See p. 151.

Codex 59 of Berat: Triodion in paper, 280 x 220mm, 268 folia, late type writing in dark brown, one column text, notes in red. It contains psalms and hymns for the period of the Triodion. The beginning and the end of the codex are missing. It is dated at the beginning of the fifteenth century[77].

Codex 47, of Berat: Pentecostarion in paper, 218 x 140mm, 363 folia, writing in light brown. The codex is damaged and not easy to read. From the small fragments that can be read, Popa concludes that the codex is a Pentecostarion and dates it in the fourteenth century[78].

Codex 78, of Gjirokastra: Pentecostarion in paper, 210 x 160mm, 290 folia, late type of writing in brown, one column. Popa dates it between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century[79].

Codex 61, of Berat: Horologion in paper, 220 x 147mm, 233 folia, late type of calligraphic writing in brown, one column, notes and initials in maroon. Popa dates it no earlier than the sixteenth or the seventeenth century[80].

Codex 53, of Berat: Canonarion, 280 x 200mm, 343 folia, old type of writing, one column, notes in red. It contains Canon hymns that are sung throughout the year. Popa dates it in the first half of the fifteenth century[81].

Codex 65, of Berat: Canonarion in paper, 210 x 135mm, 323 folia, two different kinds of writings from two different hands. The Canon hymns are until folio 101. Afterwards the codex contains different writings not specified by Popa. He dates the codex to the beginning of the seventeenth century[82].

Codex 70, of Berat: Liturgy in paper, 182 x 122mm, 72 folia, late type of writing in black, titles in red, initials in red and decorated. It is dated to the eighteenth century[83].

Codex 80, of Gjirokastra: Liturgy in paper, 152 x 60mm, 138 folia, late type of writing in black, titles in capital letters in red, initials decorated in red. It contains the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great. Popa dates it between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century[84].

Codex 96, of Korça:* Liturgy, 197 x 143mm, 33 folia, writing in black, initials in red. It contains the Liturgy, probably of Saint John Chrysostom, and in the beginning, some other hymns from Vespers. Popa dates it between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century[85].

* See Picture 6: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 96 of Korça, Photo of the whole codex; and Picture 7: Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 96 of Korça, 6v-7r, Icon of St John Chrysostom and Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy.

[77] See p. 148.
[78] See p. 124.
[79] See p. 162.
[80] See p. 149.
[81] Th. Popa 2003, p. 128.
[82] See p. 152.
[83] See p. 155.
[84] See p. 163.
[85] See p. 174.

Codex 71, of Berat: Akoloutheia in paper, 223 x 161mm, 31 folia, late type writing in black. It contains the Akoloutheia to Saint Athanasius and Saint Cyril of Alexandria, as well as of priest Hermolaus and of Saint Paraskevi. It was written on 11th March 1789[86].

Codex 84, of Vlora: Exodiasticon in parchment, 320 x 220mm, 24 folia, writing in black, one column, titles and initials in red. It contains the burial service for hierarchs. It is dated to the year 1738[87].

2.6 Patristic and ascetical codices

Codex 25, of Berat: Patristic anthology in parchment, 300 x 270mm, 503 folia, two types of calligraphic writings in brown, two columns text. According to Popa the codex contains biographical and historical writings on different Church Fathers, as well as homilies on different topics. It is dated to the thirteenth century[88].

Codex 39, of Berat: Patristic anthology in parchment, 175 folia, late type of writing in dark brown, one column, 20 – 30 lines per column, initials in capital letters. The codex contains different moral and spiritual instructions in the form of speeches or homilies. It is dated at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century[89].

Codex 49, of Berat: Works of Gregory of Nyssa in thin shiny paper, 360 x 173mm, 216 folia, late type of writing in light brown. The first and last pages are lacking, as well as the table of contents. Popa gives a list of the works of Saint Gregory of Nyssa, but no dating[90]. From personal study of the content it resulted that the homilies are not presented in a certain order and liturgical elements are not present.

Codex 51, of Berat: Works of Ephraim the Syrian on paper, 290 x 220mm, 300 folia, late type of writing in dark brown, one column text. The codex is written by priest-monk Simeon of the Annunciation Monastery in Berat in the year 1425. It contains different teachings of Saint Ephraim the Syrian[91].

Codex 40, of Berat: Monastic homilies in parchment, 250 x 175mm, 122 folia, late type of writing in black, one column, 33 – 34 lines per column. The codex contains different monastic stories and teachings by non-specified authors and it is dated by Popa at the end of thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century[92].

2.7 Hagiological[93] codices

Codex 14, of Berat: Lives in parchment, 220/230 x 173mm, 150 folia, late type of writing in brown, one column. It contains different biographies of saints and stories about them. Popa dates it at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century[94].

86 See p. 155.
87 See p. 165.
88 See pp. 105-106.
89 Th. Popa 2003, pp. 117-119.
90 See p. 126.
91 See pp. 127-128.
92 See pp. 119-120.
93 Or hagiographic codices.
94 Th. Popa 2003, p. 98.

Codex 20, of Berat: Lives and Passions in parchment, 383 x 210/220mm, 190 folia, late type writing in brown, two columns, 34 lines per column, capital letter initials in red. The codex contains biographies of saints as well as some miracles of a certain icon of Christ. Popa dates it to the twelfth century[95].

Codex 28, of Berat: Lives and Passions in parchment, 275 x 220mm, 158 folia, middle type of writing in brown, one column, 22 – 28 lines per column. There are no data on the content. It is dated between the twelfth and the thirteenth century[96].

Codex 30, of Berat: Lives and Passions in parchment, 290 x 243mm, middle type writing in brown, two columns, 40 lines per column, small letters. It contains biographies of saints and martyrdoms. Popa gives no dating of the codex[97].

Codex 31, of Berat: Hagiological homilies and Passions in parchment, 222 x 173mm, 102 folia, middle type of writing in brown, one column text 33 lines each. The codex contains biographies of saints, homilies on them and martyrdoms. It is dated to the thirteenth century[98].

Codex 37, of Berat: Lives and Passions in paper, 300 x 210/220mm, 398 folia, middle type calligraphic majuscule writing in brown, two columns, initials in red. According to a note in the codex, it was written in 6835 (1327) during the reign of Andronicus Palaiologos. It contains biographies of saints and martyrdoms[99].

Codex 41, of Berat: Lives and Passions in thick paper, 300 x 200mm, 152 folia, late type writing in black, one column, decorated initials. Popa does not give any data on the content, but says that the codex displays Western influences in the miniatures, due to Prince Karl Topia, who was Roman-Catholic. The codex is dated to the fourteenth century[100].

2.8 Musical codices

Codex 23, of Berat: Octoechos in paper, 230 x 142mm, 159 folia, writing in brown, one column text, initials in red. It contains hymns according to the weekly movable cycle of the eight tones. It was written by Michael Slavopoulos in the year 1292[101].

Codex 72, of Korça: Octoechos in thin white paper, 153 x 105mm, 280 folia, writing of both texts and musical notes in black, titles and punctuation marks in red. The codex is dated Sunday June 13th 1736. Popa gives a detailed description of the content of the codex. The codex does not contain only the hymns of the Octoechos, but other hymns as well. It also contains hymns written by Saint John Coucouzeli from Durrës[102].

Codex 81, of Berat: Octoechos in parchment, 257 x 220mm, 220 folia, late type writing in light brown, musical notes in dark brown, one column, 24 lines per column. Even though Popa classifies this codex as

[95] See pp. 101-102.
[96] See p. 108.
[97] See pp. 109-110.
[98] Th. Popa 2003, p. 110.
[99] See pp. 115-116.
[100] See pp. 120-121.
[101] See pp. 103-104.
[102] See pp. 155-157.

an Octoechos, when describing the content, he is not sure if the designated feasts and hymns are clear. He dates the codex in the fourteenth century[103].

Codex 87, of Elbasan: Codex in paper, 203 x 150mm, 168 folia, calligraphic writing with letters in brown and musical notes in black, title and accent marks in red. Even though Popa classifies this codex as an Octoechos, from the detailed content he presents, it seems that the codex is more a collection of different hymns. The codex is dated to1810[104].

Codex 95, of Tirana: Codex probably in paper, 192 x 140mm. It contains various hymns. It is incorrectly classified by Popa as an Octoechos. It is dated to the nineteenth century[105].

2.9 Canon Law and other various codices

Codex 73, of Berat: Codex in paper, 222 x 157mm, 164 folia, eighteenth-century writing in black, titles in red, few decorated initials. It contains theological dogmatic writings on soteriology[106].

Codex 91, of Berat: Codex in paper, 290 x 240mm, 84 folia. It contains moral teachings (chrysoeide) translated from Latin into Greek. It is dated to the eighteenth century[107].

Codex 94, of Korça: Codex in thin paper, 160 x 111mm, 94 folia, late type writing in black, one column each with 22 lines, titles and initials in red. It contains different teachings on wisdom. Popa dates it to the middle of the eighteenth century[108].

Codex 60, of Berat: Nomocanon in paper, 222 x 155mm, 238 folia. It contains matters of canon law. It is dated August 6th 1786[109].

Codex 66, of Berat: Nomocanon, 200 x 147mm, 320 folia, late type writing in brown, titles in red. It contains matters of canon law and it was written on December 15th 7121 (1613). Popa does not specify the material of the codex[110].

Codex 67, of Berat: Nomocanon in paper, 212 x 152mm, 326 folia, very late type writing in black, titles and initials in red. It contains matters of canon law. Popa dates it between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century[111].

Codex 69, of Berat: Nomocanon in paper, 223 x 162mm, 65 folia, late type writing in black, titles in red. It contains matters of canon law. It is dated to the eighteenth century[112].

[103] See p. 164.
[104] See pp. 167-168.
[105] Th. Popa 2003, p. 174.
[106] See p. 157.
[107] See p. 171.
[108] See p. 173.
[109] See pp. 148-149.
[110] See pp. 152-153.
[111] See pp. 153-154.
[112] See pp. 154-155.

Codex 86, of Elbasan: Nomocanon in paper, 200 x 148mm, 185 folia, late type writing in black, titles in red, decorated initials. It contains matter of canon law and it is dated 5th March 1562[113].

Codex 97, of Gjirokastra: Nomocanon, 192 x 140mm, 315 folia, late type writing in black, titles in red. Popa does not specify the material of the codex. The codex is dated in the year 1562[114]. Mullen catalogues this codex as a prayer book in his catalogue of biblical manuscripts, but gives no data on its content[115].

Codex 82, of Elbasan: Codex in paper, 160 x 110mm, 633 folia, various types of writings from different periods. Popa says that it contains different materials, but does not specify any of them and does not date the codex[116].

Codex 99, of Korça: Codex in paper, 260 x 440mm, 109 folia, various writing types. This codex contains information on the administrative and judiciary organisation, on the social economic life, on the concept of law, and of the political life of the Christian communities of the Metropolis (region) of Korça. The codex was started on 4th March 1676 and finished in 1943[117]. In the Popa's catalogue, this codex is not described by Popa himself[118].

Codex 100, of Fier: Codex in paper, 222 x 159mm, 101 folia. It contains the engagement agreements from 1st May 1819 until 12th December 1843[119]. This codex is not catalogued by Popa.

Codex 68, of Berat: Codex in paper, 215 x 154mm, 66 folia. The codex contains the work 'Introduction to Logics' of Anastasius Basilopoulos and is dated 1696[120].

Codex 74, of Berat: Physics and metaphysics codex, 193 x 154mm, 134 folia, writing in black, one column text. It contains matters of physics and metaphysics and it is dated to the eighteenth century[121].

Codex 83, of Shkodra: Lives in Latin, 200 x 136mm, 175 folia, writing in dark brown, one column and two columns. It contains biographies of Saints in Latin and it is dated to the year 1341[122]. It is the only Latin codex of the Archive.

Popa's catalogue is elementary, but it has remarkable value, since it gives a general picture of all the codices found in the Albanian State Archive. Moreover, it provides basic codicological data of many unknown Byzantine manuscripts in Albania. However, these codices are not the only ones that Albania possesses. The Orthodox Church of Albania has recently created its own Historical and Palaeographic Archive and some codices already make up part of this archive. There is also an initiative underway to collect other codices that were hidden during the severe communist persecution. The fruit of this work remains to be seen in the future.

[113] See pp. 166-167.
[114] See p. 175.
[115] R. MULLEN 2003, p. 227.
[116] Th. POPA 2003, p. 164.
[117] A. REMBECI, *Ο κώδικας τῆς Μητροπόλεως Κοριτσᾶς: ἔκδοση καὶ ἱστορικὴ τεκμηρίωση (17ος – 19ος αἰώνας)*, (Master Thesis Ionian University), Corfu, 2009.
[118] Th. POPA 2003, pp. 177-178, 195-197.
[119] See pp. 197-198.
[120] See p. 154.
[121] See pp. 157-158.
[122] See pp. 164-165.

Annex 1 : Concordant Table NT Codd: Archive (Popa) – Mullen – INTF/VMR

See abbreviations in Aland 1994.
n.c. : not complete

Archive (Popa)	**Mullen**	**INTF/VMR**
Codex 1 Berat (« codex Beratinus »)	Φ 043 (eP : Mt Mc)	Br. 16[123] (043)
Codex 2 Berat (« codex Anthimius »)	1143 (e)	Br. 2 (1143)
Codex 3 Berat	*l* 2372 (U-*l*)	Br. 3 (*l* 2372)
Codex 4 Berat	1141 (e)	Br. 4 (1141)
Codex 5 Vlora	2252 (e)	Vl. 5 (2252)
Codex 6 Berat	*l* 1204 (*l*P)	Br. 6 (*l* 1204)
Codex 7 Vlora	–	Vl. 7 (*l* 2439)
Codex 8 Berat	–	Br. 8 (*l* 2447)/Koder-Trapp 1
Codex 9 Berat	–	Br. 9 (*l* 1434)
Codex 10 Vlora	2253 (e)	Vl. 10 (2253)
Codex 11 Vlora	–	Vl. 11 (2440)
Codex 12 Berat	1707 (ePK: J)	Br. 12 (1707)
Codex 13 Berat	*l* 758 (*l* = unsp.)	Alex. 3 (*l* 758)/Br. (*l* 2441)
Codex 15 Berat	2244 (e)	Br. 15 (2244)
Codex 16 Berat	*l* 882 ? (*l*a)	Battif. 7 (*l* 882)/Br. 16 (*l* 2442)
Codex 17 Berat	1764 (aKP : Act)	Br. 17 (1764)
Codex 19 Berat	1709 (eP: J)/2353 (eP: MtMc)	Br. 19 (1709/ *l* 2353)
Codex 21 Berat	*l* 1207 (*l* = unsp.)	Br. 21 (2247/ *l* 1207)
Codex 22 Berat	*l* 1433 (*l* = unsp.)	Br. 22 (*l* 1433)
Codex 24 Berat	–	Br. 24 (*l* 2449)/Koder-Trapp 9
Codex 26 Berat	2246 (e †)	Br. 26 (2246)
Codex 27 Berat	–	–
Codex 29 Berat	1711 ? (e)	Alex. 45 (1711)/Br. 29 (2245)
Codex 35 Berat	2247 ? (e †)	–
Codex 36 Berat	*l* 1209 ? (lsel?)	Alex. 48 (*l* 1209)/Br. 36 (*l* 2448)
Codex 38 Berat	1705 (e)/ 1708 (e) ?	Br. 38 (1705)
Codex 75 Gjirokastra	1709 (eP : J)/ 1706 ?	–
Codex 76 Berat	–	–
Codex 77 Berat	*l* 1208 ? (*l* = unsp.)	Alex. 33 (*l* 1208)/Br. 77 (*l* 2443)
Codex 79 Gjirokastra	2514 (e)	Gj. 79 (2514)
Codex 85 Korça	–	Ko. 85 (2900)
Codex 88 Berat	–	Br. 88 (*l* 2444)
Codex 89 Berat	–	Br. 89 (*l* 2445)

[123] This is probably a mistake, since the number is 1.

Archive (Popa)	**Mullen**	**INTF/VMR**
Codex 89 Berat	–	Br. 89 (*l* 2445)
Codex 92 Korça	–	Ko. 92 (2901)
Codex 93 Berat	–	Br. 93 (2902)
Codex 98 Ardenica	–	Ar. 98 (2903)
Codex fragm. 2 Berat	–	–
Codex fragm. 5 Voskopoja	–	–
Codex fragm. 7 Voskopoja	–	Fr. Vs. 7 (2908)
Codex fragm. 12 Berat	2245 ?	–
Codex fragm. 13 Vithkuq	–	–
Codex fragm. 15 Berat	–	–
Codex fragm. 16 Voskopoja	–	–

Totals :

The following codices are only mentioned in INTF VMR [Arg. Mitr. 2 (*l* 1791), Koder-Trapp 18 (1706), Alex. 35 (1708), Alex. 44 (1710)], but they have to be identified.

Mullen describes 35 New Testament codices (He labels codex 97 as a prayer book, while Popa labels it as a Nomocanon) and codd. 29 and 75 which contain homiletic materials. There are 7 fragmented codices too, not registered in Aland.

The list of Tetraevangelion codices: 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, 19, 26, 29, 35, 76, 79, 85, 92. 93 (15x).

The list of Evangelion codices: 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 21, 22, 24, 36, 38, 75, 77, 88, 89 (16x).

Praxapostolos codex [with commentary]: 17 (1x).

Apostolos codex [incomplete]: 16 (1x).

Homiliarion codex: 27 (1x).

Tetraevangelion plus Theophylact commentary on John: 12 (x1).

Listed in Aland 1994 (x24) [NB. not all Gregory and Aland numbers correspond !]:

Codices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, 35, 36, 38, 75, 77, and 79.

Not listed in Aland 1994 (11 New Testament codices):

Tetraevangelion codices 76, 85, 92, and 93 and Evangelion codices 7, 8, 9, 11, 24, 88, and 89 are not mentioned in Aland and are not listed in the INTF Virtual Manuscript Room (commenced in 2009).

Annex 2 : Byzantine manuscripts in Albania listed in Gregory I 1900 and III 1909

Gregory I 1900, and III 1909:
Berat Φ 043 (e), p. 93, p. 1038.
Berat 1141 (e), p. 243, p. 1130; 1142 (e), p. 243; 1143 (e), p. 243; 1705 (e), p. 1173; 1706 (a), p. 1179; 1707 (e), p. 1173; 1708 (e), p. 1173; 1709 (e), p. 1173; 1710 (e [*l* ?], p. 1711 (e [*l* ?]), p. 1173; 2244 (e), p. 1203; 2245 (e), p. 1203; 2246 (e), p. 1203; 2247 (e), p. 1203. [= 15 codd.]
Berat *l* 758, p. 443, p. 1240.
Berat *l* 1204 (Alex. 4) *l* 1205 (Alex. 8) *l* 1206 (Alex. 10) *l* 1207 (Alex. 32) *l* 1208 (Alex. 33) *l* 1209 (Alex. 48), p. 1268.
Berat *l* 1433 (Alex. 17) *l* 1434 (Alex. 22), p. 1283.
Berat l^a 882 (Batiff. Nr. 7), p. 473, p. 1248.
[= 10 codd.]

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A. Buda, 'Thesare kulturore që i kthehen popullit' ('Cultural Treasures returned to the People'), *Zëri i Popullit (The Voice of the People)*, Tirana, 1972.

A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der Hagiographischen und Homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952.

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The coenobitic Τυπικόν and principles of liturgical codex composition

The liturgical context of the collection of Byzantine manuscripts of Mone Karakallou

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Abstract
This article discusses the collection of Byzantine manuscripts of one present-day Greek orthodox monastery, Hiera Mone Karakallou on Mount Athos. Research of one particular coenobitic monastic collection of Byzantine manuscripts turns our attention to some vital codico-liturgical principles. The manner in which different liturgical books are connected in liturgical practice is demonstrated, giving insight into their "inter-functionality". The author also looks at the general organisational factor behind the liturgical programme of the monastery, namely the Typikon and how the Typikon functions today.

Introductory remarks

The main objective of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts (CBM) programme is, as stated in the preamble, to investigate and develop a methodology for codicological research of the Byzantine manuscripts that is based on relating the manuscripts to their original environment. The principal factor in the study of Byzantine manuscripts is the liturgical-ascetical factor and the practice of the churches and monasteries for which they were manufactured and in which they functioned. Contacts with the Greek Orthodox monastery Hiera Mone Karakallou (Hagion Oros, Greece)* led in 2009 to the idea of a pilot project[1], in which the CBM methodology could be explored on a small, albeit integral scale. Particular attention is given to different groups of interrelated manuscripts, which were used in former ages in a liturgical programme comparable to the coenobitic monastic practice today, as one encounters in Mone Karakallou and in other monasteries on Mount Athos. Special attention is given to the aspect of the codices's functioning together in a common liturgical framework, ruled by the Typikon. The Typikon developed as the directing principle behind the different codex groups needed for the liturgy, and became the operating force behind the conception and production of the codices. For this reason the study of the Typikon's structure and Typikon books is given a central place in our project.

* See Picture 8: Outside view of Mone Karakallou (Mount Athos).

[1] This plan was supported by the Holy Synod of the monastery and its Abbot, Archimandrite Philotheos, and with particular assistance of the librarian Fr. Nektarios and monachos Nikolaos of Karakallou. We want to express sincerely our deepest gratitude for their support and warm hospitality.

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 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101397

a. Different Typikon systems and codex production

Different Typikon systems exist[2]. The coenobitic Typikon, as encountered in Mone Karakallou[3] and in the other Athonite monasteries[4] and sketes[5] today, is especially of direct relevance for Byzantine codex studies and cataloguing, since it is in coenobitic monasteries that the daily liturgical programme is performed in full. The coenobitic programme demanded the use of many different books and was the driving factor behind the acquisition and production of manuscript corpora of a biblical, liturgical-ceremonial, hagiological (hagiographical[6]), homiletic, hermeneutic and ascetical nature. This empirical factor helps us to understand how the different monastic *praxeis* were expressed in the handwritten documents[7]. For this reason we combine our research of the manuscripts on a global scale with research of this one particular, local monastic collection of Byzantine manuscripts in its authentic, age-old environment. In other words, the local collection of codices and old printed books kept in the present-day community ('brotherhood') of Mone Karakallou on Mount Athos, is paradigmatic for our purpose.

Fundamental questions have been raised in the course of this project concerning the laws of codex conception and transmission: how did the original codex forms evolve from liturgical practice? For which particular ascetico-liturgical ends were codices manufactured? How were liturgical apparatuses created and in which manners were they developed? What led to the eventual re-composition of original codex forms, for instance, how did the Tetraevangelion codex evolve into the Evangelion (the full Gospel lectionary and its derivatives), the Praxapostolos into the Apostolos (the full Apostle lectionary and its derivatives), integral Old Testament books (the books of the Law, Prophets, Wisdom books) into the Old Testament liturgical compilation called Prophetologion, and the original Book of Psalms into a Psalterion (with Kathismata) and Odes composition? How were the original homiletic corpora (of individual Byzantine fathers) restructured into large collective compositions intended for liturgical reading in the Morning service (Orthros), and composed according to liturgical-calendaric schemes? How were hagiological corpora themselves integrated and formatted in these liturgical structures, into Synaxarion and Menologion codices? How were the authentic corpora with ascetical contents read, collected, reconceived and transmitted into liturgical contexts?

In general, the intriguing question with regard to the function, formation and delivery of all these codex groups is, *how were these corpora arranged and rearranged with regard to liturgical schedules*. This

[2] See the article of Stefanos Alexopoulos on the subject earlier in this volume.

[3] A coenobium (κοινόβιον) is a monastery under the leadership of the hegoumenos (abbot) or, if the community is smaller (a *synodia*), guided by an elder /geronda (Γέρων).

[4] Besides the coenobitic monasteries (μοναὶ κοινοβιακαί) and sketes (σκῆται κοινοβιακαί), other smaller monastic communities exist on Mount Athos with different ascetico-liturgical schedules: κελλία, καλύβαι, καθίσματα, ἐρημητήρια, ἡσυχαστήρια, τὰ οἰκητήρια τῶν καταβιωτῶν (cf. Gerasimos of Smyrna (Hieromonachos of Esphgmenou), *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Karyes, Hagion Oros, 2005, pp. 344-345; instructive is Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupurkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, grösstentheils zum ersten male herausgegeben und mit Einleitungen versehen*, Amsterdam, 1965, pp. 83-88.

[5] A skete (σκήτη) is a small monastic village, usually consisting of a central church (Kyriakon) and several cells (kellia) around this church. Cells are monastic dwellings, each with its own synodia (group of monks living together under spiritual leadership of an elder) and usually with its own chapel.

[6] In Greek scholarly literature the term 'Hagiography' (Ἁγιογραφία) is used for the Holy Scriptures, not for books comprising the Lives of the Saints, which are simply called 'Bioi ton hagion' or Synaxarion and Menologion. In order to attune Western and Eastern scholarly terminology on this point, one may speak of *Hagiology*, which is closer to the orginal Byzantine nomenclature, thus avoiding misunderstandings with Greek practice. It is also a fine alternative for 'hagiography'.

[7] See the interesting source reference at the beginning of the reedited Sabas Typikon: Τυπικὸν τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ ἡγιασμένου (a re-edition of the editio princeps, Venice, 1545, by N. Nykios), with introduction and comments by Archimandrite Dositheos, Hiera Stauropegiake Mone Panagias Tatarnes Eurytanias, Granitsa, n.d. [2009]. Among the consulted printed sources and auxiliaries (Πηγαὶ καὶ Βοηθήματα) are also mentioned the Typikon 'praxis' of the patriarchal Church: ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας; and of individual monasteries: ἡ πρᾶξις Μονῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους; ἡ πρᾶξις Ι. Μονῆς Ταтάρνης Εὐρυτανίας. In other words, as sources are indicated: 1) the common practices of the monasteries and 2) the written witnesses of these practices reflected in Typikon codices and books. It should be noted that the unwritten element in eastern monastic Typikon consciousness is very important, if not decisive for an adequate understanding.

dynamic and transformative phenomenon of Byzantine codicology[8] can be illustrated with the help of this present-day Greek orthodox monastery.

b. The codico-liturgical approach and its ancestors

Although the research direction indicated above was touched upon in the cataloguing work of Caspar R. Gregory, Alfred Rahlfs, Alexei Dimitriesvkij and others, it was in fact launched by Albert Ehrhard[9] in the context of his outstanding research of hagiographical and homiletic manuscript corpora and set out in *Ueberlieferung und Bestand*, Bd. I-III, 1937-1952[10]. The following quotation illustrates Ehrhard's insight with regard to the liturgical and empirical factor of codex composition:

> 'Dieselbe liturgische Bestimmung eignet aber auch den übrigen hagiographischen und homiletischen Hss in einem viel höheren Maße, als aus den Hsskatalogen zu ersehen ist. Die Daten, auf die ihre Texte sich bezogen, waren ihren Benutzern so geläufig, daß sie sehr oft nicht eigens verzeichnet wurden. Es genügt daher bei einer großen Zahl von Hss., die man bisher wegen ihres bunten, aus Martyrien, Heiligenleben, Lobreden, Wunderberichten, Festreden und Sonntagshomilien bestimmter Autoren der altchristlichen und byzantinischen Zeit bestehenden Inhaltes als 'Codices miscellanei' betrachtete, die entsprechenden Daten einzusetzen, um sie als wohlgeordnete Hagiographische bzw. Homiletische Sammlungen zu erkennen. Um aber diese Ordnung wahrzunehmen, muß man wissen, daß das Ordnungsprinzip weder ein literarisches noch ein geschichtliches, sondern lediglich ein liturgisches ist'[11].

The striking observation of Ehrhard was that Byzantine hagiological codices (the main focus of his work) were not only determined by liturgical schedules (Typikon systems), but, very importantly, provided the basic framework of the unfolded Synaxarion, that is, the common Byzantine calendar in its twofold structure of parallel annual cycles. Formulated more exactly, *combined biblical and hagiological data*[12] *were the primary sources on which the conceptual framework (the 'skeleton') of the common Byzantine calendaric-liturgical schedule was built*. The different sorts of codices, biblical, hagiological, homiletical, ascetical, functioned against this basic liturgical framework. They were acquired and procuded to this end[13].

Since Ehrhard's codex classification work a century ago, new research initiatives have evolved[14], local and special catalogues have been created, studies concerning specific codices or groups of codices have

[8] A part from the discipline of manuscript studies, the designation 'codicology' (*kodikologia*) will also be used in this article to denote the 'art and knowledge of codex making', the work of the *kalligraphos*.

[9] See F. Winkelmann, *Albert Ehrhard und die Erforschung der Griechisch-Byzantinischen Hagiographie*, Berlin, 1971; and J. M. Hoeck, 'Der Nachlass Albert Ehrhards und seine Bedeutung für die Byzantinistik', *Byzantion*, 21.1 (1951), pp. 171-178.

[10] A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Vols. I-III, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952.

[11] A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 24-25.

[12] Both groups are 'hagiographical' in the sense of being Holy Scriptures (*hagiai graphai*, cf. Rom. 1, 2), including the lives of the saints (cf. Jesus Sirach 44-50: ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΥΜΝΟΣ, and the *νέφος μαρτύρων* listed in Hebr. 11) as well as part of later compilations (see the informative introduction in A. Ehrhard I 1937).

[13] Ehrhard during his lifelong project of hagiographical and homiletic research developed important insights concerning codex classification, not only of books of lives of the saints and their homilies, but also with regard to the general 'codico-liturgical' embedding of different patristic corpora (biblical, hagiographical, ascetical) and their liturgical cohesion. See his conclusion with regard to the liturgical function of distinct codex forms ('full', 'middle', 'small', 'mixed' depending on the underlying synaxarion structure). See A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 23-32. Important is also his decisive insight with regard to the 'full codex type', see A. Ehrhard I, p. 32.

[14] The new developments in which the codex was given central attention in Byzantine codicology was already stipulated by Alphons Dain, Herbert Hunger, Katharine Granstrem, Marcel Richard and others in the course of the second half of the twentieth century, which was significant, since their perspective was much more attuned to the work of Greek catalogue makers and cataloguers, like Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Lampros, Bees and others, who stood very close to Byzantine manuscript and book tradition.

enriched our knowledge, their typology has been refined and developed[15], the scope of research has widened and new windows have opened on the field of Byzantine manuscripts, to include together with the biblical codices, also the other related codex groups: liturgical, hymnological, homiletic, hagiographical, and patristic-ascetical corpora.

We have coined this approach more recently into what we now call the *codico-liturgical approach*[16]. In this article all codices which are relevant for liturgical practice will be discussed. It is from liturgical practice that they receive their *raison d'étre*.

c. The Karakallou collection of manuscripts

Research ('field research') of one particular, coenobitic, monastic collection of Byzantine manuscripts – in this case that of Hiera Mone Karakallou – turns our attention to some vital codico-liturgical principles, which have already been shortly summarised above. The handwritten catalogue of M. Karakallou was recently published by the present author[17], and includes a comprehensive overview of all codices kept in M. Karakallou, as well as a historical survey of preceding inventories and catalogues. Our present effort is to demonstrate how the codico-liturgical principles can be applied to the Karakallou codex collection in its entirety, compared with the ascetic-liturgical practice to-day. This ancient monastery (founded in 1018 A.D.) has a relatively modest collection of Byzantine Greek manuscripts (the actual number is 333 codices[18]), as well as a considerable collection of old printed books (3450) in comparison with the extensive collections in the libraries of other Athonite monasteries, the huge collection of Megiste Lavra (± 2689 codd.), or that of M. Vatopediou (2165 codd.), or M. Iberon (2194 codd.)[19]. A relatively small sized collection as that of M. Karakallou enables us to build up a more complete overview of the whole and to consider the central question how these manuscripts reflect the liturgical practice and process of codex formation in earlier stages of the monastery's history. The full fashion of this liturgical organism, which crystallised over the ages[20], is clearly reflected in Byzantine codex production. A less full liturgical schedule can be found in other idio-rhythmic communities (such as sketes, kellia, hermitages, etc.), or in Byzantine churches (patriarchal[21] or parish churches[22]), where many services are omitted or shortened in comparison to coenobitic monasteries.

[15] For our research of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices the studies of Yvonne Burns, Marcello Garzaniti and more recently the dissertation of Chris Jordan (C. R. D. Jordan, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th-11th Century)*, (Thesis of The University of Birmingham), Birmingham, 2009) on the Gospel lectionary group from the ninth to the twelfth century are of particular use; also J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York-New Haven-London, 2009.

[16] See S. M. Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research: Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri*, 47 (2008), pp. 5-145 and Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition. Towards a codico-liturgical approach to the Byzantine Manuscripts*, Tilburg, 2007.

[17] See the article and bibliography, S. M. Royé, 'Γενικὸς Ἀλφαβητικὸς Κατάλογος: the handwritten catalogue of the collection of Byzantine manuscripts of Hiera Mone Karakallou (Mount Athos)', *Sacris Erudiri*, 49 (2010), pp. 439-536.

[18] See for this data S. M. Royé 2010, pp. 440-441 and esp. n. 6.

[19] See the contribution of Efthymios Litsas in this volume.

[20] In Ehrhard's historical sketch the formative epoch in the evolution of the Byzantine calendar (the Synaxarion, with the liturgical structure of feasts and commemorations of saints on particular days), commenced in the 4th century and was accomplished in the eighth century, A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 18-19.

[21] See the Typikon of the Hagia Sophia (the Great Church) in Constantinople, as preserved in the Patmos Typikon codex, Monastery of St. John the Theologian no 266 (ninth/tenth century), and the Jerusalem Holy Cross Synaxarion and Typikon codex, kept in the Patriarchal Library no 40 (tenth/eleventh century), reflecting the liturgical practices and schedules of the Great Church in Constantinople from the ninth to the eleventh centuries (the datings of the manuscripts), but which existed and were established in earlier ages.

[22] J. von Gardner, *Russian Church Singing,* Volume 1: Orthodox Worship and Hymnography, trans. by V. Morosan, Crestwood, New York, 1980, pp. 69-71.

d. Structure of the article

In this article I will explain why a coenobitic monastery is taken as a paradigm (chapter 2). Following this we will look at how the Typikon functions today, on the basis of the Typikon codex of Mone Dionysiou, a handwritten document dated 1909[23], which functions as a Typikon source book in M. Karakallou[24], as well as in other monasteries on Hagion Oros[25] (chapter 3). The present-day liturgical practice of the monastery, with its deep roots in the history of Athonite monasticism, is taken as the point of departure in the following codico-liturgical survey[26]. We are further concerned with the different groups of liturgical books that are used in the daily offices and liturgy of M. Karakallou, with a view to the inter-functionality of the books, as ruled by the Typikon (chapter 4). An annex[27] will provide the printed editions of distinct groups of liturgical corpora which are presupposed in Typikon Dionysiou and which are in use in Mone Karakallou, together with the codices of old, reflecting the continuity and compatibility of printed and handwritten sources in this monastery.

1. The coenobitic monastic liturgical environment of the Karakallou collection of Byzantine manuscripts

1.1 A coenobitic monastery as paradigm

> 'Für eine authentische orthodoxe Liturgiepraxis scheinen mir in der Tat die Grundlagen der Askese und die damit verbundene erfahrungspraktische Kenntnis der orthodoxen Anthropologie unerläßlich zu sein'[28].

This statement makes clear that the daily liturgical practice in Athonite monasteries is not only connected to the ascetical life of the monks, but that asceticism is, in fact, most characteristic of liturgical tradition. Liturgy is organised prayer and asceticism is the continuous exercise of prayer[29]. Mone Karakallou

[23] Since this Typikon of M. Dionysiou is characteristic for Athonite coenobitic monasteries, but not generally known to scholarship, it will be introduced in part 4.

[24] Through the ages different sources were used. For research of earlier stages in the liturgical life of M. Karakallou are useful the Typikon codices which are presently kept in the library under the signatures: Karakallou 303, XVc. (Lampros 365, Dimitriesvki III No 78, p. 301), Karakallou 304, XIXc. (Lampros – , Dimitrievki III No 153, p. 745), Karakallou 305, XIIIc. (Lampros 25, Dimitrievski –), together with numerous old and new printed editions of the so-called Sabas Typikon in its Stoudite and other modifications.

[25] For a list of Athonite Typikon codices, see Vol. III Part II: Typika of the Holy Mountain [19 codd. from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century], Nos 136-155, pp. 508-765, in A. A. Dimitrievsky, Описаніе литургическихъ рукописей, хранящихся въ библіотекахъ Православнаго Востока. [Description of the liturgical manuscripts kept in the Libraries of the Orthodox East], T. I. Τυπικά, Kiev, 1895; T. II. Εὐχολόγια, Kiev 1901; T. III. Τυπικά, 2; Petrograd, 1917.

[26] As historical lemma will function the Typikon of Mone Evergetis (Constantinople) of the eleventh/twelfth century. This Typikon reflects the coenobitic monastic practice (combined with elements from the patriarchal practice) of earlier days and is for its full readings appropriate for historical comparison.

[27] See the annex at the end of the article: 'Select list of liturgical corpora (editions and codices) presupposed in Typikon Dionysiou and used in Mone Karakallou'.

[28] One of the relevant present-day sources of our 'field research' is the book of J. Pfeiffer (S'chi-Archimandrit), *Dass Ihr Anbetet in Geist und Wahrheit. Morphologie und Mystagogie des Orthodoxen Tagzeitengebetes, nebst einer allgemeinen Einführung in die Orthodoxe Liturgik und das Verhältnis von Liturgie und Mystik*, Buchhagen, 1999. This book provides a rich source of information and profound reflection on coenobitic (and related monastic) liturgical practice, including the function of the needed biblical, liturgical and ascetical books, stemming from broad expertice in Typikon praxis as well as theoria.

[29] Basil the Great, *An Ascetic Discourse by the same Author* and *Exhortation concerning Renunciation of the World and Spiritual Perfection*, in *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil*, ed. by W. K. L. Clarke, New York and Toronto, 1925, pp. 61-62: 'And let all other things in the same way serve not the desires but the needs of the ascetics. The whole of life should be a season of prayer. But since it is absolutely necessary to break the constant round of psalmody and kneeling by certain intervals one must

as a coenobitic community, deeply rooted in ancient monastic tradition[30], can serve as a paradigm in the study of old liturgical praxis in order to build up a comprehensive picture of how the liturgical books, codices and printed editions were used in old days.

There are always two central cooperating factors in the coenobitic model of monasticism[31]: 1) the communal life of the brotherhood, and 2) the life of the individual monk who is a member of that community[32]. In order to gain a concrete picture of the need and use of books in the monastery and by the monks individually, it is necessary to keep the ascetic-liturgical practice in mind, because it is from here that the very need for books stems.

The full[33] liturgical-ascetical programme[34] is based on: I. the daily cycle of prayer hours (codified in the Horologion); and II. the two combined synchronical and intertwined annual cycles (codified in a whole group of liturgical books, see below)[35]. The first annual cycle (II), organised in weeks, includes the feasts of the Church for the movable year, with the feast of Pascha at the head of all other following feasts and commemorations of the Byzantine ecclesiastical year. The feast of Pascha is surrounded by the preparatory pre-Lenten and Lenten periods and followed by the Paschal period which runs until Pentecost and All Saints (Synaxarion). The second annual cycle (II), organised in months, includes the daily fixed feasts and commemorations of saints and martyrs of the Church, arranged according to the Byzantine ecclesiastical calendar, running from September to August (Menologion)[36].

follow the hours of prayer enjoined by the Saints' [follow quotations from Scripture]...' so that in the whole course of the day we may accomplish typically the sevenfold daily praise of God'.

[30] Concerning the common ascetic-liturgical foundation of church (in the world) and monastery, see BASIL THE GREAT 1925; see G. N. PHILIAS, 'Ἡ λειτουργικὴ ζωὴ τῶν πρώτων μοναστικῶν κοινοβίων', *Σύναξη*, 35 (1990), pp. 33-42.

[31] See BASIL THE GREAT, 'The Longer Rules', in *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil*, ed. by W. K. L. CLARKE, New York and Toronto, 1925, pp. 145-228, rule 7: 'I recognise that the life of a number lived in common is more useful in many ways' (...). (ed. Clark, pp.163-166). Cf. 'Basil the Great: Long rule and Short rule', in 'Early Monastic Rules: The Ascetic Treatises of Basil of Caesarea', in BMFD, pp. 21-32. See also the rule of the Monastery of St. John of Stoudios in Constantinople, in 'Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John of Stoudios in Constantinople', in BMFD pp. 84-97 and the translation on pp. 97-115.

[32] SAINT PAISIUS VELICHKOVSKY, 'The Instruction of Elder Paisius for the Tonsure to the Monastic Order', (Little Russian Philokalia, vol. iv), Alaska, 1994, pp. 129-142.

[33] This designation stems from A. EHRHARD I 1937, p. 34: 'der vollen Gestalt des byzantinischen Festkalenders', and on p. 36: 'Der Umstand, dass alle bisher bekanntgeworden Typika, mit Ausnahme des von K. Kekelidze aufgefundenen Typikons von Jerusalem, den byzantinischen Festkalender bieten, und zwar sowohl in seiner mittleren als in seiner vollen Gestalt (...)'.

[34] It should be noted that the Akoimeten Typikon contains the 'fullest' possible liturgical programme, namely unceasing 24 hours prayer. See J. PFEIFFER 1999 ,'Das Akoimetentypikon: die ununterbrochene liturgische Anbetung' and 'das immerwährende Herzensgebet', pp. 243-248. In n. 143 on p. 244 are mentioned the following codices representing the Akoimetai Typikon (according to Fountoulis): Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 331 (XI c.), Leimos 295 (XII c.) and Athens 15 (XII c.). (There is an edition of the Akoimetai Typikon by the Aristotelian University in Thessaloniki in the series *κειμενα λειτουργικα*).

[35] A recent well-documented explanation of all liturgical books which are presently in use in orthodox churches in a western language is found in J. GETCHA, *Le Typikon Décrypté. Manuel de liturgie byzantine*, Paris, 2009. Included are also important Slavic and Russian sources.

[36] In A. EHRHARD I 1937, Einleitung II. 'Das griechische Kirchenjahr und der byzantinische Festkalender', one encounters a pionering effort to explain the complicated liturgical structure of the Byzantine calendar, with the help of the central liturgical books: the Triodion: edition Venice 1870, pp. 25-26 and the Pentekostarion: edition Venice 1872, pp. 26-27 in his exposition of the movable part, directly connected with the Evangelion pericopes and their liturgical structure (references to C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, vols. I-III, Leipzig, 1900-1909). For the fixed and movable part the central coordinative role of the Typikon (in its different fashions) is explained, pp. 36-39: used are the first printed edition Venice 1545, p. 37 n.1 and the Typikon manuscripts in A. A. DIMITRIEVSKY I 1895 and III 1917, p. 36 and further.

There are obligations for each monk to attend the daily liturgical services in the Katholikon[37], the church in the centre of a coenobitic monastery*. These liturgical obligations are called 'obediences'. The individual life of the monk is ruled by his prayer rule or *κανών*[38], sometimes called his 'personal typikon' (see Elder Ephraim the Hagiorite[39]). This personal rule is embedded in the intensive daily liturgical programme of the whole community as laid down in the Typikon of the monastery. Part of the ascetical practice is manual labour and other common tasks in the monastery[40]. But the nucleus of all daily practice remains his 'spiritual obligations', as he is engaged with the daily recitation of the psalms on different hours of the day (*psalmody*), the singing of hymns (*hymnology*), attentive reading (*melete*) of the Evangelion in his cell or kellion[41], and the study of the commentary on the Gospels by John Chrysostom (fourth/fifth century) or Theophylact of Bulgaria (eleventh century), which are recommended in particular for devotional reading. Besides the Scriptures, the daily reading of the neptic (ascetical) fathers and the lives of the saints is considerd essential food for spiritual thought.

Naturally such a common and private liturgical-ascetic programme demands the use of a body of books.

> 'Zur Durchführung der heiligen Dienste sind mehrere Bücher erforderlich. Das liturgische Material ist darin so angeordnet, daß jede wesentliche liturgische Person bzw. Gruppe die Texte vorliegen hat, die sie konkret benötigt : das Hieratikon für den Priester, das Hierodiakonikon für den Diakon, die Bücher mit den Lesungen für den Lektor, und schließlich die Bücher für die Chöre und den Kanonarchen'[42].

It is evident that the two cooperating factors – the communal liturgical life in the church and private prayer and study in the kellia – were and still are the determinative factors for the ongoing acquisition and production of codices and books in the monastery.

1.2 The collections of books and codices in M. Karakallou

Apart from the (small) collections of books of the individual monks kept in their kellia the Mone Karakallou Library** houses three interconnected collections of codices and books, namely:

1. the manuscripts (from the ninth to the nineteenth century);
2. the old printed books (based on and developed parallel to ongoing Byzantine codex delivery);

* See Picture 9: The Katholikon – the main Church within the monastery.

** See Picture 10: Entrance to the monastery library ["Museum"] and Picture 14: Codices on the shelves (different formats).

[37] The daily eight prayer hours and liturgy are grouped together into three clusters. In Karakallou the daily programme is as follows: Mesonyktikon, Orthros, First Hour – Third, Sixth Hour and Liturgy (from 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning until dawn, 6 o'clock) followed by the morning meal; three hours for rest; from 9.00 to afternoon 14.00/15.00 work in the monastery; 14.00/15.00 Ninth Hour and Hesperinos; the evening meal follows immediately and the apodeipnon. See Ph. Meyer, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der neueren Geschichte und des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Athos-klöster', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 11 (1890), pp. 395-435 [= I]; 539-576 [=II]; see esp I 1890, pp. 428-429.

[38] See, for instance, as formulated in a present-day Athonite ascetical book: [Joseph the Hesychast] *Monastic Wisdom. The Letters of Elder Joseph the Hesychast*, Florence, Arizona, 1998, 'Glossary', p. 406: 'A prayer rule consists of the prayers and metanoias which one (i.e. the monk) does daily, under the guidance of one's spiritual father'.

[39] See Elder Ephraim, *Counsels from the Holy Mountain*, selected from the Letters and Homilies of Elder Ephraim, Florence, Arizona, 1999, p. 124: 'Let us be consistent in doing our prayer rule. Likewise, let us be punctual in going to church'; cf. Ph. Meyer I 1890, p. 430: 'Ausser den öffentlichen Gottesdiensten ist jeder Mönch verplichtet, seinen *κανών* abzubeten und zwar in seinen Zimmer'.

[40] See Basil the Great, 'The Longer Rules' 1925, J. Pfeiffer 1999, and I. Brianchaninov (Bishop), *The Arena. An Offering to Contemporary Monasticism*, trans. from the Russian by Arch. Lazarus, Jordanville, N.Y., repr. 1997 [1982].

[41] See I. Brianchaninov 1997, 'On the Study of the Commandments of the Gospel and on the life according to the commandments of the Gospel', p. 3. See Brianchaninov ch. 9, p. 21.

[42] J. Pfeiffer 1999, p. 125.

3. the new printed serial editions and books (since the nineteenth century, based on 1 and 2).

If we consider these three collections together, we can mirror the historical evolution of Byzantine codex and book production from the foundation of the monastery up until the present-day. From a retrospective point of view[43], the liturgical practice, the acquisition of books and the production of codices for liturgical use can be traced back from present-day practice to more ancient times[44], to the time of the first Athonite monasteries, to Athanasios the Athonite (Megiste Lavra)[45], to the time of St. Theodore the Studite[46], of Sabas the Sanctified (sixth century)[47], and even so far back as to the coenobitic rules of Basileios the Great and Pachomios (fourth century)[48].

There are three main levels of liturgical activity in the (coenobitic) practice of Mone Karakallou[49] which deserve scholarly attention with regard to the need and use of codices and printed books in the monastery:

I. the daily celebration of the Divine Liturgy (the 'heart' of the common life in the coenobia, but also in the sketes and kaluves[50]);
II. the programme for the liturgical day (the 'cycle' of prayer hours[51]) in the context of the Byzantine liturgical annual cycles;
III. the personal prayer and reading programme of the individual monks.

(a) The daily celebration of the Divine Liturgy

The Divine Liturgy (*Theia Leitourgia*) or Holy Eucharist (*Hiera Eucharistia*) is celebrated daily and is the main liturgical celebration to which all other celebrations and services are related (Holy Baptism, Chrismation, etc.)[52]. The central importance of the Divine Liturgy is evident from the Euchologion codices preserved in the library of M. Karakallou (see for **Ε**ὐχολόγιον corpora, codd. 107-127[53]) and the

[43] See the Prologue by hegoumenos Petros to the Typikon of M. Dionysiou 1909, in which the path back (from the present-day coenobitic Typikon) to earlier stages of monasticism (Typika or rules of St. Basil and Pachomios) are sketched in outline.

[44] In Karakallou and in most of the Athonite libraries the oldest codices stem from the 9th century, but contain books and texts of much more remote periods of biblical, liturgical and ascetical culture.

[45] See K. Ware, (Bishop of Diokleia), 'St Athanasios the Athonite: traditionalist or innovator?', in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, (Papers from the Twenty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994), ed. by A. Bryer and M. Cunningham, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1996; D. Papachryssanthou, Ο ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμός. Ἀρχές καὶ ὀργάνωση, Athens, 1992; Ph. Meyer 1894. Further basic literature: Gerasimos of Smyrna 1903 [repr. 2005]; E. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos. The Garden of the Panaghia*, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1972; I. P. Mamalakis, Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος (Ἄθως) διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων, Thessaloniki, 1971; K. Lake, *The early days of monasticism on Mount Athos*, Oxford, 1909; M. I. Gedeon, Ο Ἄθως (Ἀναμνήσεις-Ἔγγραφα-Σημειώσεις), Constantinople, 1885.

[46] See Th. Miller, (trans.), 'Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople' and 'Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. by J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, Belfast, 2001; See. A. A. Dimitrievki I 1895, Typika Ktetorika: Studite Typikon: Hypotyposis of H. Theodor the Studite: Hagion Oros, H. Mone Vatopediou, cod. 322 (956), XIII-XIV century, [pp. 224-238].

[47] See J. Thomas, 'The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic Typika', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by J. Patrich, Leuven, 2001, pp. 73-83.

[48] See the sketch of J. Thomas, 'Early Monastic Rules: A. The Ascetic Treatises of Basil of Caesarea; B. The Pachomian Tradition', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. by J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, Belfast, 2001, pp. 21-32; 'B. The Pachomian Tradition', pp. 32-38.

[49] Note that M. Karakallou was not always coenobitic during its long history.

[50] See Basil the Great, *The Morals*, No 21 (ed. Clarke), p. 107).

[51] See Basil the Great, 'The Longer Rules', Rule 37 pp. 207-209.

[52] See J. Getcha, 'L'Euchologe et le Hiératikon', in *Le Typikon Décrypté. Manuel de liturgie byzantine*, Paris, 2009, pp. 53-59.

[53] See S. Roye 2010, pp. 497-499.

many printed editions kept in the library. In Byzantine tradition the liturgy is characteristically named *Mysterion* (or *Mystagogia*)[54]. Evidence for this is provided in codex titles, for example in the Karakallou collection[55] and in explanations of the Byzantine liturgy by the mystagogues of the Church (Cyril of Jerusalem, fourth century, the so-called Dionyios the Areopagite, beginning sixth century, Maximos Confessor seventh century, Germanos of Constantinople, eighth century, Nikolaos Kabasilas, twelfth century, Symeon of Thessaloniki, fourteenth century, Nikolaos of Bulgaria, seventeenth century and later fathers), who subsequently explained the liturgy in particular detail, reflecting on the contents and form of the celebration in their times and circumstances in order to maintain the sacred and mystical character of eastern liturgical celebration.

There are three distinct types of the Divine Liturgy (*Treis Leitourgiai*) in use since early Byzantine times (fourth/fifth century), celebrated at different moments of the ecclesiastical year: the liturgies attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (see Karakallou codices 153-165[56]). This diversity is very characteristic for the Byzantine liturgical tradition. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated after the *orthros* and the first, third and sixth hours and before the ninth hour which is connected to the *hesperinos*, but is at the same time elevated from daily prayers.

We may conjecture that the three Divine Liturgies were eventually bound together under one cover. They were most probably first recorded separately. There are codices and scrolls that attest this. These Liturgies were incorparated in Euchologion codices of divers contents and combinations (later in Mikro and Mega Euchologion)[57]. They were also included in Hieratikon or Litourgikon editions. The Tetraevangelion with liturgical apparatus and Evangelion codices* are closely connected to the Divine Liturgy and readings were chosen from the four Gospels (see Karakallou Εὐαγγέλιον codd. 94-101 and Τετραευαγγέλιον codd. 292-302), and the Apostolos and Praxapostolos codices with readings from Acts and Epistles for all days of year (see Karakallou Ἀπόστολος codd. 36 and 273 and Πραξαπόστολος codex 301, together with Τετραευαγγέλιον)[58].

Books needed in the performance of the Divine Liturgy
Euchologion or Hieratikon, Hieron Evangelion, Apostolos, Psalterion (stichoi), Horologion, Parakletike/Oktoechos, Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia

(b) Programme of the liturgical day in the context of the Byzantine liturgical annual cycles

A body of codices is employed during services, by the anagnostes, psaltistes, the kanonarches and the choir singers of the right and the left choir**. The liturgy demands a rapid exchange of different books. Since ancient times the Psalterion with biblical Odes (see Karakallou Ψαλτήριον and Ὠιδαί codd. 310-329[59])

* See Picture 11: Evangelion lying on Holy Table with Tetraevangelion standing (left side) and a Hieratikon (lying to the right).

** See Picture 12: Books used in the right choros.

[54] See the many alternative names which were used in Byzantine tradition for indicating the Holy Liturgy, in Nikolaos of Bulgaria, *Κατήχησις Ἱερά, Ἤτοι, Τῆς Θείας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Λειτουργίας Ἐξήγησις*, Hagion Oros, Katounakia, 2007 [reprint Venice, 1651], pp. 77-79 (Mysterion, Mystagogia, Telete, Synaxis hiera, Hierourgia, Anaphora, Oikonomia, Prosphora, Latreia, Deipnon, Thysia, Dorea, Eulogia, Koinonia, Eucharistia, etc.).

[55] E.g. Karakallou 118 (Lampros 170) Εὐχολόγιον, item 4: "Ἀκολουθία ψαλλομένη τῇ μεγάλῃ μ΄ εἰς τὴν μυσταγωγίαν τῶν Προηγιασμένων."

[56] See S. Royé 2010, pp. 501-502.

[57] See Dimitrievski II 1901, in which 162 Euchologion codices are presented.

[58] Cf. S. Royé 2010, pp. 497, 514-515; 490, 512.

[59] Cf. S. Royé 2010, pp. 515-516.

plays a central role. Second in frequency and importance is the liturgical book called the Horologion (see Karakallou Ὡρολόγιον codd. 321-322), which provides a fine example of pragmatical organisation of the prayers and psalms to be read in the daily common prayer hours[60]. The materials for the prayer hours are arranged according to the fixed Byzantine schedule in eight hours (Ὥραι), starting with the Mesonyktikon (Midnight service) and then following the daily sequence of Orthros (Morning service), First, Third, Six, Ninth Hour, Hesperinos (Evening service), Apodeipnon (After Meal service). These prayer hours are ruled by the system which is called the Typikon (see further below)[61]. Inserted into daily-weekly hymn-books (Oktoechos/Parakletike) are the psalm readings (according to the twenty kathismata and staseis), including hymns and odes (troparia, kontakia, kanons) according to the eight modes system of chanting (see Karakallou Ὀκτώηχος (μικρά) codices 255-256 and Παρακλητική (Ὀκτώηχος μέγα) codd. 260-268) also employed on different seasons and days of saints, preserved in Triodion (see Karakallou Τριῴδιον codd. 256, 306), Pentekostarion (see Karakallou Πεντηκοστάριον codd. 256, 331), and Menaia books (see Karakallou Μηναῖον codd. 196-214).

There are Old Testament readings in particular seasons (especially during the weekdays in the Great Lent period and the Holy Week, but also on important fixed feasts and the commemoration of saints (see Karakallou Προφητολόγιον codices 32, 278).

Books needed in the performance of the Liturgy
Euchologion or Hieratikon (Orthros, Hesperinos), Hieron Evangelion, Apostolos, Psalterion (stichoi), Horologion, Parakletike/Oktoechos, Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia, Prophetologion (see Menaia)

One may note that according to the Typikon the liturgical services (in the strict sense of the word) are continued in the Trapeza with the readings of biblical, homiletical, hagiographical and ascetical books (see the small Karakallou library in the Trapeza).*

(c) The personal (liturgical) prayer programme of the individual monks

Attentive reading and study of biblical, hagiological and ascetical books are strongly advised for monks in their cells.

* See Picture 13: The Climax of John of Sinai read in the Trapeza (refectory).

[60] There is probably a common liturgical source and more in common between churches in the world and monasteries in ancient Christendom, see S. S. R. Frøshov, 'The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited. Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?, *Studia liturgica*, 37 (2007), pp. 198-216.

[61] Note the difference between the Byzantine day beginning at midnight and the beginning of the Byzantine week (the hesperinos on the eve of the Sunday, Kyriake). This difference is expressed in the different codex conceptions and arrangements according to the daily cycle (Horologion paradigm) and according to the weekly cycle (Oktoechos, for the sabbatokyriakai and the extended Parakletike for the whole week, including the weekday materials of prayers, hymns, kanons, the Triodion and Pentekostarion (weekday materials for the Tessarakoste and Pascha periods).

Select List of books used for monastic study
The study of the Evangelion (four Gospels) and the whole New Testament with commentaries of John Chrysostom; then Theophylact of Ochrid (Commentaries on the four holy Gospels); St. Dorotheos (The Instructions), St. Theodore the Studite (Catechetical Sermons), St. Barsanuphios and St. John the Prophet (Directions for the Spiritual life, Questions and Answers), St. John Climacus (The Ladder of Divine Ascent), St. Ephrem the Syrian (Works), St. John Cassian (Cenobitic Institutes and Conferences), the Philokalia, the Skete Patrology, St. Isaiah the Solitary (Kephalaia), St. Isaac the Syrian (Treatises), St. Mark the Ascetic (Writings), St. Makarios the Great (Words and Homilies), Symeon the New Theologian (Works in prose and verse). See Picture 14: The codices in the Karakallou library. (cf. Ignati Brianchaninov, *The Arena*, pp. 21-23)

1.3 Liturgical embedding of ascetical, hagiological and homiletical works

Extremely important is the role of the ascetical works of the Byzantine neptic fathers (Apophthegmata Patron, Basil the Great, Ephrem the Syrian, Makarios the Egyptian, Isaac the Syrian, Maximos Homologetes, and so on) for monastic life, and especially their use in the liturgical programme of the coenobitic monastery. More than any other group of Byzantine codices the ascetical corpora were separated from the biblical manuscripts and isolated from the liturgical context to which they belong. It is important that this ascetical group of codices (see below for an overview) is 'repositioned' in catalogue research, looking at the integration of the asketika in the liturgical programme, the works of the fathers chosen and for which period, the connection between the asketika and other works, the connection with the Byzantine calendar, etc. This is made visible to a great extent in the liturgical Typikon, since ascetical works are prescribed for reading during the Orthros and other prayer hours incorporated in the Byzantine ecclesiastical calendar, especially for the period of Great Lent and the Pascha period. Reading from ascetical works of the fathers is conducted within the framework of daily-weekly psalm readings (in *kathismata*).

1.4 Liturgical reading of the hagiologika and asketika (public and private)

The readings of the hagiological and ascetical works are performed in Orthodox monastic tradition as follows:

- Read during the services (akolouthai);
- Read during the trapeza during the meals;
- Read in the kellia of the monachoi.

The following works are read in Byzantine liturgical context:

- the Synaxarion or Menologion (in different collections and redactions);
- the corpus of ascetical writings by Ephrem the Syrian;
- the corpus of ascetical instructions by John Klimakos (Klimaka);
- the corpus of ascetical lives and words from the ancient fathers (Gerontikon);
- the corpus of asetical writings by Theodore the Studite (Catecheses, shorter and longer);
- the corpus of ascetical writings by Basil the Great;
- the corpus of ascetical writings by John Chrysostom (Chrysostomika).

2. The role of the Τυπικόν in the liturgical programme of Athonite monasteries in general and of M. Karakallou in particular

2.1 Organised liturgical life in a monastic setting

> 'Les hymnes, prières, chants et mouvements de l'office liturgique, la succession des fêtes et leur combinaison au cours de l'année, tout cela est réglé de manière chorégraphique par le Typikon, cet << œil de l'Église >> qui, loin d' être un recueil de règles juridiques et desséchantes, est en fait le condensé de l'expérience deux fois millénaire de l'Église. C'est lui qui nous garantit l' authenticité et l'objectivité de la transmission de cette expérience des saints Pères. Il est la Tradition vécue, et le fondament de la vie spirituelle orthodoxe'[62].

From the very outset it should be clear how the designation 'Typikon'[63] is used and defined today in Eastern orthodox monastic tradition and scholarly literature (Georgios Rigas, Konstantinos Papagiannis, Archimandrite Dositheos of Hiera Stauropegiake Mone Panagias Tatarnes Eurytanias, Ioannes Fountoulis, Georgios Filias, Job Getcha, Stefanos Alexopoulos, and others). In the first place we note that it is used concerning: 1) the 'liturgical practice' of churches and monasteries; and 2) the 'book' that describes liturgical practice. Moreover, the word 'Typikon' is used in a general and in a particular sense: in the general sense of indicating the liturgical practice of a whole region, maybe on a large scale, the Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople, for instance; or in a more particular sense, indicating the precise liturgical tradition of one monastery or a group of monasteries.

The Typikon of the church can be defined shortly as organised prayer based on the Scriptures and in accordance with the longstanding tradition of the Church[64]. The Typikon regulates the daily common prayer hours throughout the liturgical year, in all its complexity and richness[65]. The Typikon codices and later the printed Typikon books[66] of the coenobitic Athonite monasteries provide for the full programme of Byzantine liturgy and the liturgical books needed and composed for this programme[67].

The monastic (Byzantine) Typikon finds its roots in in the rapidly appearing monastic communities which, from the fourth century onwards, were founded in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Cappadocia (Asia Minor) and other regions. Its formation is related to the St. Sabbas monastery situated not far from Jerusalem[68] and the liturgical practice of Palestinian monasticism in general. Through the Byzantine Empire

[62] J. Getcha 2009, p. 9.

[63] It is our intention here to present the subject of the Typikon from the 'holistic' viewpoint of Eastern monastic tradition, on the basis of new and unknown (to western scholarship) documents, manuscripts as well as editions. It is most relevant to our goal to sketch the over-all and coordinative function of the Typikon with regard to the liturgical groups of codices presupposed in that source.

[64] See Getcha 2009, Introduction, p. 11: 'L'Orthodoxie peut donc désigner tout autant la doctrine véritable que la juste glorification de Dieu', and referring to the Russian theologion George Florovsky, who qualified Christianity as 'religion liturgique'. 'L'Église est', selon lui, 'avant tout une communauté priante. La liturgie vient d'abord, la discipline enduite'.

[65] See the article in this collection of papers by Stefanos Alexopoulos and the scholarly literature mentioned there, including such experts as Arranz, Taft, etc.

[66] The first printed edition was Venice 1545 (See the reprint edition by archimandrite Dorotheos).

[67] See K. Papayiannis, *Σύστημα Τυπικοῦ τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Ὅλου Ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Athens, 2006, 'Πηγαὶ καὶ βοηθήματα', pp. 20-23, who consulted recent Athonite Typikon codices for his Typikon Explanation of the Great Church (M. Dionysiou, M. Konstamonitou, M. Agiou Pavlou, M. Philotheou, M. Xeropotamou), which were consulted. For Typikon codices kept in Athonite libraries, see S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vols. 1-2, Cambridge, 1895-1900: II A': Πίναξ Συγγραφέων καὶ Συγγράφων, pp. 481-569, under lemma 'τυπικόν', but also 'κανονάριον', 'συναξάριον'.

[68] See G. Fiaccadori (trans.), 'Founder's *Typikon* of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. by J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, Belfast, 2001, pp. 1311-1318; see J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, Washington, 1995; A. Ehrhard I 1937, 'Einleitung', pp. 36-38; R. Taft, 'Typikon, liturgical', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 2131-32;

(Studite Typikon of Constantinople)[69] it was distributed to other monasteries and churches and eventually to all Eastern orthodox churches of later days. The Athonite typika are the most matured form of typika and, an intriguing factor indeed, they are still in use. In order to provide an adequate introduction to the Typikon used in M. Karakallou, it is helpful to commence with a sketch of liturgical organisational forms of the Athonite coenobitic monasteries, expressed by their Typika[70]. This will show us how the codices functioned in a liturgical coenobitic context.

2.2 The origins of the coenobitic Typikon: a biblical-liturgical view

In the opinion of hegoumenos Petros of Mone Dionysiou, the origins of the coenobitic Typikon can and should be retraced not only to early Byzantine or early Christian and apostolic times, but even further back to the times of the prophet Moses, who received regulations for the Tabernacle and the liturgy of ancient Israel. This way of thinking is very characteristic of orthodox monastic liturgists, founding and legitimising the present-day Typikon in 'biblical sources'.

In the Prologue of hegoumenos Petros to the Typikon of M. Dionysiou[71] we read:

> 'In old times the Lord talked to Moses on Mount Sinai, as one observes in the Book of Exodos[72], giving him together with His other commandments, ordinances, laws, pattern, canons [διατάξεις, νομικάς, τύπους καὶ κανόνας] with regard to the harmonious liturgical organisation of the worship of the 'God of Israel'. Later through the incarnation of the Son and Word of God 'the servant of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle' [ὁ τῶν Ἁγίων λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς] (Hebr. 8, 2) coming unto the earth 'not to destroy but to fulfil' all ordered regulations of the law [πάντα τὰ νομικὰ προστάγματα]'[73].

Similar witnesses of this sort are found in other Byzantine liturgical and patristic sources of recent and of more remote ages, on Mount Athos and beyond, and also by recent Greek Typikon explanators as Konstantinos Papagiannis, Georgios Rigas, and archimandrite Dositheos of Mone Tatarnes. The essence of this 'archaeo-biblical-liturgical' opinion concerning the origin of the Typikon in these works is, that the roots of early Christian and Byzantine liturgical practice, i.e. the Typikon of the Church, are to be found in similar liturgical practices and regulations of which the Scriptures speak themselves, and which can thus be traced back to biblical times. In short, the nucleus of all liturgical practice is based on both biblical[74] and patristic sources.

J. Thomas 2001, pp. 73-83; N. Egender, 'La formation et l'influence du Typikon liturgique de Saint-Sabas', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by J. Patrich, Leuven, 2001, pp. 209-216.

[69] See J. Getcha 2009 and S. Alexopoulos in this volume.

[70] See for an overview of nineteen Athonite Typikon codices in Dimitrievsky III, 1917: codd. nos 136-155.

[71] *Τυπικόν ἤ Τυπικὴ διάταξις τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου*, ed. by Hiera Mone Hagiou Dionysiou, Hagion Oros, 2004, p. ια'.

[72] See Exodus 25. 40: 'And look that thou make them after their pattern (κατὰ τὸν τύπον), which was shewed thee in the mount'; cf Exodus 25. 8 where the word 'παράδειγμα' is used. Compare also Acts 7. 44 and Hebrews 8. 6. See also *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II lvii, where is said, 'For the same pattern was followed (with regard to the liturgical order of readings from the Scriptures, OT and NT), both in the tabernacle of the testimony [var.: and in the temple of God]'. (see Funk (ed), p. 163: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ὁ αὐτος παρηκολούθει τύπος).

[73] Translated by author.

[74] Some biblical expressions as τυπός, the personal 'model' (cf. Acts 7. 44; Hebrews 8. 5; Romans 6. 17, Philippians 3. 17, James 5. 10, 1 Peter 5. 3) and κανών or rule (cf. Philippians 3.16) come very close to what is meant by 'Typikon'. See W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin-New York, 1971, s.v. 'τύπος' and 'κανών'.

Since the origins and evolution of early Christian liturgy of the first three centuries at least are, from a historical point of view, shrouded in darkness[75] and historical evidence is fragmentary, it can only be said that both liturgical practice and the experience of prayer crystallised from the fourth century onwards gradually into synaxarion-kanonarion-typikon codices[76] (from the eighth/ninth century up until the twentieth century), in which the Byzantine Typikon reached its near complete form and structure.

A relatively early canonical-liturgical document – the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων)[77] – incorporates a 'Church order' or 'Typikon *in statu nascendi*'[78], including a well-documented and clearly defined liturgical structure, with shifting rubrical and celebration texts that became so characteristic for later Euchologion, Horologion and other liturgical codices. Since this ancient document (reworked and edited in the fourth/fifth century, but drawing on earlier liturgical traditions)[79] is relevant for our purpose[80], the passage in question will be quoted in full.

> 'But now our discourse hastens as to the principal part, that is, the constitution of ecclesiastical affairs (*τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως), that so, when we have learned this constitution (διάταξις) from us, ye who are ordained bishops by us at the command of Christ, may perform all things according to the commandments delivered you (πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολὰς ποιῆσθε), knowing that he that heareth us heareth Christ, and he that heareth Christ heareth His God and Father (Lk 10, 16), to whom be glory for ever. Amen. Wherefore we, the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge those divine constitutions (τὰς θείας διατάξεις) concerning every ecclesiastical form (περὶ παντὸς ἐκκλησιατικοῦ τύπου)*'[81].

This testimony clearly testifies how the canonisation of early Christian liturgical practices was set in motion[82], a process which is also evident from other fourth-century sources such as the horoi of St. Basil the Great[83] and the *Peregrinatio Etheriae*[84]. Still unclear is how the early ecclesiastical tradition, the Typikon of Jerusalem[85] and the ancient monastic liturgical traditions and typikons (Sabbas monastery[86]) influenced each other in the early stages of development[87]. Important is that behind the two basic liturgical

[75] See the article by Rouwhorst in this collection of papers: 'The Oldest Greek Biblical Manuscripts and the question of their liturgical background. The relationship between the Christian Bible and liturgy and its implications for the possible liturgical background of biblical manuscripts before the formation of the Byzantine lection system'.

[76] These terms are used as equivalents.

[77] Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, F. X. Funk, (ed.), *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905, repr. 1970. [cf. ed. M. Metzger in SC 320, 329, 336]; the compilation is dated in the fourth/fifth century, consisting of different strata of historical evolution. Although this ancient canonical-liturgical compilation is, from a critical point of view, a mystification (the constitutions are presented by the apostles), concerning the worth of the included historical-liturgical data (collected from the first centuries) there are no doubts (they should be used with distinction and cautiously).

[78] See *Ibid*., Book VIII (ed. by Funk), an ancient witness of an organised form of liturgical practice: 'those divine constitutions (τὰς θείας διατάξεις) concerning every ecclesiastical form (περὶ παντὸς ἐκκλησιατικοῦ τύπου)'.

[79] See P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, revised and enlarged edition, London, 2002.

[80] A special study of the correspondences between the liturgical practices provided and reflected in this early Byzantine document (not only Book VIII, but the whole compilation) and later Byzantine liturgical manuscripts, from the point of the Typikon will be extremely valuable.

[81] Quoted from *Apostolic Constitutions*, transl. A Roberts, J. Donaldson [ANFC, 7], Book VIII iii-iv. See F. X. Funk (ed.), *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905, pp. 470-472.

[82] Described are then the three liturgical layers (prayer, reading, instruction) in extenso and on two levels, with alternating *rubrics* and celebration texts: Apostolic Constitutions Book II lvii, lix.(ed. by Funk).

[83] Basil the Great 1925, pp. 145-228 [Rules 1-55].

[84] See J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, newly translated with supporting documents and notes, rev. edition, Jerusalem-Warminster, 1981.

[85] The 'Typikon of Jerusalem' is discussed in A. Ehrhard I 1937, p. 36, J. Getcha and others.

[86] See J. Thomas, 'The Imprint' 2001, and N. Egender 2001, p. 74 and n. 8.

[87] See S. S. R. Frøshov, 'The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited. Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?', *Studia Liturgica*, 37 (2007), pp. 198-216; N. Uspensky, *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church*, transl. from the Russian by P. Lazor, Crestwood, N.Y., 1985.

traditions, namely patriarchal (cathedral) and monastic, lay one ecclesiastical, liturgical consciousness and conception, representing essentially two *modalities* of one (flexible) liturgical practice[88]. In order to understand orthodox liturgical opinion one can conclude that local diversity and more centralised liturgical forms (Constantinople)[89] co-existed; they complemented and did not exclude one another.[90]

> 'Daher gibt es nicht eine einzige liturgische Ordnung, sondern die heilige Überlieferung umfaßt in ihrer katholischen Fülle und Ganzheit die verschiedenen Typika, also die liturgischen Ordnungen der orthodoxen Kirchen. So, wie in jeder lokalen Kirche die Ganzheit und Fülle der einen heiligen katholischen und apostolischen Kirchegegenwärtig ist, so ist die liturgische Ordnung eines Klosters, einer Gemeinde, also einer konkreten lokalen Kirche, stets die konkrete Ausprägung und lokale Gestalt des einen Urbildes der einen Kirche. In manchen Regionen sind ältere Überlieferungen bewahrt, in anderen haben sich jüngere Entwicklungen durchgesetzt; an manchen Orten werden, neben den allgemeinen Hochfesten, bestimmte Heilige gefeiert, an anderen Orten andere; Unterschiede gibt es zwischen Klöstern und Weltgemeinden, zwischen großen Klöstern und Skiten oder Kellien. Auf Grund des liturgischen Konservatismus der Orthodoxie findet man also nirgendwo abstrakt das orthodoxe Typikon. Jede Uniformisierung der Liturgie wäre dem geist der Orthodoxie ebenso zuwider wie jede Willkür im Umgang mit den liturgischen Symbolen'[91].

This quotation is of particular importance for our understanding of the phenomenon of codex standardisation and diversification, which is the codicological reflection of the sketched liturgical reality: *the diversity of liturgical practice is correspondingly reflected in the diversity witnessed in the codex forms*.

An interesting and maybe new aspect in the discussion on the origins of Typikon nomenclature, is that 'core expressions' were used in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (this should be explored further): *'τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως' and 'πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολὰς ποιῆσθε' and 'τὰς θείας διατάξεις' and 'περὶ παντὸς ἐκκλησιατικοῦ τύπου'.* It is not wholly improbable that the term 'typikon' was coined from the last quoted expression 'ekklesiastikos typos'[92].

2.3 The Typikon as liturgical practice and Typikon codices

The distinction made earlier in this article between the term 'Typikon'[93] indicating the whole of liturgical practice[94] and 'Typikon codices' (see the 176 classified Typikon manuscripts included in Dimitrievsky I and III), which are the written expression of that practice from different times and places, is essential to understand the dynamic and empirical factor of liturgical life. The Typikon as an underlying liturgical system rules, but also draws upon all biblical, liturgical, homiletic, hagiographical and ascetical corpora. Together they all form the written expression of the whole of liturgical practice. All these books,

[88] See the Τυπικόν of M. Dionysiou 2004, p. θ': 'Οἱ Πατέρες ἔδωκαν ἀνέκαθεν τὴν πρέπουσαν σημασίαν εἰς τὰ Τυπικά, τόσον τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ λογικῆς λατρείας, ὅσον καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς Μοναστηρίοις καὶ Σκήτεσιν'. (= Preface by the Ecumenical Patriarch Eminence Bartholomaios)

[89] See J. Pfeiffer 1999, p. 138: 'Im wesentlichen freilich ist die Struktur und der Ablauf der Liturgien heute in allen orthodoxen Kirchen gleich; die Unterschiede betreffen nunmehr Details wie die Auswahl der Festgesänge. For allem in der Zelebrationsweise finden sich nationale, regionale und lokale Unterschiede'.

[90] See Ehrhard's introductory exposition with regard to hagiographical-homiletical codex formation.

[91] J. Pfeiffer 1999, pp. 88-89.

[92] See the Εἰσαγωγή by Archimandrite Dositheos, in Τυπικὸν τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, re-edition of the editio princeps, Venice, 1545, pp. 15-17.

[93] See the article by Stefanos Alexopoulos in this collection of papers.

[94] J. Pfeiffer 1999, p. 138: 'Der Begriff "Typikon" wird vielfältig benutzt. (...) Im weitesten Sinne bezeichnet der Begriff "Typikon" die Etikette, "den Knigge" des geistlichen Umgangs. Im engeren Sinne bezeichnet er die Gesamtheit aller liturgischen Regeln. Das Typikon in diesem engeren Sinne ordnet bis ins Detail die Abfolge der Texte, was wie gesungen und was rezitiert wird und die Art und Weise der Zelebration'.

because they are used *together* in the Byzantine liturgy, should ideally be *studied together,* if one aims to understand the Typikon in all its dynamic facets. Research of the Typikon can then lead to an understanding of the interconnected function of the codices and the interaction of books in the context of the annual programme of the Byzantine calendar. Eventually, the individual codex will be understood more fully. The diagram below reflects the interaction and interchange between the liturgical codices. It is a mere skeleton. In fact, during services, there is a continuous exchange of liturgical codices, each of which has its own specific role. Not all codices are used in the same way, or with the same intensity. Some are required permanently during services: the Euchologion for the Divine Liturgies and the other mysteries; the Horologion for the daily celebration of the prayer hours, Psalterion for daily psalmody; Parakletike for daily hymnology. Other codices are used frequently (the Evangelion and Apostolos) for daily Evangelion and Apostolos readings and the Synaxarion for readings from the Lives of the Saints, the Gerontikon for the fathers. A third group is used periodically (Triodion, Pentekostarion, Prophetologion, Klimaka, Asketika), or incidentally (Hagiasmatarion, Akolouthiai).

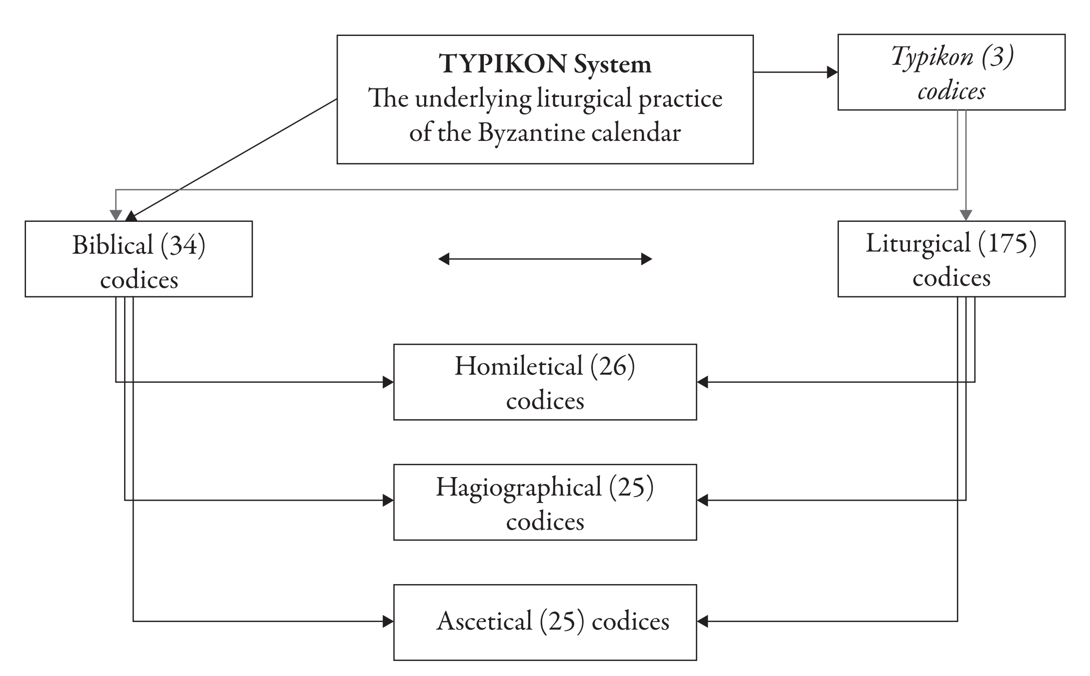


Diagram 1: Typikon as liturgical practice and Typikon including all liturgical corpora (the numbers in parenthesis are some groups of the Karakallou collection of codd. per category)

The Typikon as a codex is a book containing rubrical instructions that concern the whole liturgical programme. It is, in fact, a *meta-liturgical* book, since it does not include the celebration texts themselves and include only the rubrics and formal instructions. A considerable number of liturgical codices (Evangelion, Apostolos, Euchologion, Horologion and other) also contain rubrical instructions (in red) alongside the celebration texts[95]. The Typikon codex expresses liturgical monastic practice in a highly ab-

[95] Probably 'Typikon' elements were first developed and placed in the mentioned codices in rubrical form, before they were recomposed in the form of rubrical books or Typika.

breviated form – a liturgical skeleton, indicating the praxis and summarising in short notes, only for as far as is necessary, the rules for the coordination of the services:

– an optimal *overview* of the whole daily liturgical programme, presupposing in its representation the twofold structure of the Byzantine calendar – the interconnected annual series of feasts and commemorations of the Church, i.e. fixed and movable cycles (see further below);
– the *rules of coordination* between the fixed and movable cycles of the daily services in the course of the year;
– which services should be celebrated and which not (*the rules of preference*), in which sequence and with which liturgical elements (ceremonies, prayers, hymns, readings, etc.), referring to the books which contain these elements;
– all relevant materials and sources which are used in liturgical context (*the books from which is read*).

The many different codices and printed books with the title Typikon (or one of the above mentioned equivalents) reflect the wide spectrum of Byzantine liturgical practice, stemming from different ages, places, churches and monasteries[96]. Each monastery has its own particularity and idiosyncrasies. The main structure remains, however, very similar, if not identical, in many cases.

> 'Ursprünglich wurden die Typika mündlich tradiert und hatten dementsprechend nur lokale Bedeutung. In den Klöstern und größeren Kathedralkirchen hat man aber bald begonnen, die lokale Praxis schriftlich aufzuzeichnen und so wurden viele Gebräuche in der ganzen Ökumene verbreitet. Aus den Sammlungen dieser Aufzeichnungen haben sich dann die liturgischen Handbücher entwickelt, die man heute unter der Bezeichnung < Typikon > kennt. Jede Landeskirche, aber auch jedes Kloster hat ein eigenes Typikon. Manche geschriebene Typika bestehen lediglich aus mehr oder weniger zufällige Sammlungen liturgischer Anweisungen eines Heiligtums aus verschiedenen Zeiten. Heute gibt es in den meisten Landeskirchen feste Zeremonienbücher, die für die jeweilige Landeskirche gundsätzlich verbindlich sind. Dadurch sind allerdings die lokalen Sondertraditionen nicht völlig aufgehoben. Insbesondere in Klöstern haben sich alte Besonderheiten erhalten, aber auch in manchem Regionen'[97].

In a monastery such as Mone Karakallou, the longstanding Athonite Typikon tradition has been developed. A profound knowledge of this tradition is demanded, in the first place by the hegoumenos, but also by the other monks (priests, deacons, psaltai, readers). One of the monks is given the role of typikaris (τυπικάρης)[98], also called ekklesiarches (ἐκκλησιάρχης). He organises the concrete daily liturgical programme on the basis of the Typikon. A broad expertise is required to understand the Typikon's rules and regulations and to apply them on the basis of the yearly changing circumstances of the Byzantine calendar.

[96] Another distinction is made between the liturgical Typika and the foundation Typika of monasteries, for example by Sabbas the Sanctified, Theodoros the Studite and so on (Typika Ktetorika); in fact the rules of Pachomios and Basileios are foundation Typika too. Both groups of Typika are included in A. A. Dimitriesvki I 1895, III. See the Belfast Translation project for the Ktetorika Typika (overview). But the distinction should not be seen too sharply, since in the foundation Typika there are also many rules given with regard to the organisation of the liturgical life (see for instance the Evergetis Typikon and Hypotyposis, see K. Papayiannis, *Σύστημα Τυπικοῦ τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Ὅλου Ἐνιαυτοῦ*, Athens, 2006).

[97] See J. Pfeiffer 1999, 'Das Typikon oder Rituale', p. 138.

[98] See J. Pfeiffer 1999, p. 139: 'Derjenige Mönch eines Klosters oder Kleriker eines Heiligtumes, der die liturgische Überlieferung vollständig beherrscht und auch die Text der Gottesdienste im Einzelnen zusammenstellt, ist der < Typikaris >. Grundsätzlich gehört es allerdings zu den Aufgaben des Diakons, das Typikon zu kennen und weiterzugeben; in den Klöstern ist dies Pflicht eines jeden Mönches'.

3. Liturgical corpora of different categories used in M. Karakallou and the Typikon structure on which they are based

The Typikon of M. Karakallou is basically the same as the Typikon of M. Dionysiou[99], which is based on the handwritten copy by monachos Dometios Dionysiatis (accomplished in 1909): Τυπικόν ἤτοι Τυπικὴ διάταξις τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς ἀκολουθίας, τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὄρθρου καὶ τῆς Λειτουργίας, κατά τε τὰς Κυριακὰς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, *μετὰ πασῶν τῶν περιπτώσεων αὐτῶν*, Hiera Mone Hagiou Dionysiou, Hagion Oros, 2004. The Typikon is catalogued as Hagion Oros, Mone Dionysiou, cod. 850[100]. According to the Prologue this codex is based on six earlier Typikon manuscripts in M. Dionysiou, mainly on cod. 625 (of the year 1624), which was written by the calligrapher hieromonachos Ignatios[101]. This latter codex was again based on two Sabbaitic Typika of the sixteenth century[102].

3.1 The leading idea and basic structure of Typikon Dionysiou

Since the Typikon codex Dionysiou 850 is less known or even unknown to scholarship and not easily available, we will shortly introduce this work.

Of interest is the foreword by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomeos, which speaks of distinction and harmony between the Typikon of the Church 'in the world' and 'that of the monasteries and sketes' and that liturgical practices are founded on patristic and doctrinal layers. The Prologos by the hegoumenos of M. Dionysiou, archimandrite Petros is also of some interest. His explanation gives us an idea of how the Typikon is viewed and experienced in Eastern orthodox monasticism. Some leading thoughts are: Christian worship and liturgical life are deeply rooted in biblical times and the ancient Law of Moses, but were transformed by Christ (Hebrews 8. 2); prayer and liturgy are considered the basic principles of church life, which is attested to throughout the scriptures; included in liturgical life are the reading and explanation of the scriptures; the models ('typoi') for worship and prayer were also included in scripture; the liturgical (canonical) rules are provided for the coenobitic life in the works of Basil the Great, especially in his *Horoi kata platos*; the Sabbaitic Typikon became the true basis of coenobitic typika in Constantinople (Stoudios monastery, Pantokrator monastery, Evergetis monastery) and the Megistes Lavra on the Holy Mountain (and the other monasteries there) and the monastery of Ioannou Theologou on Patmos and so forth. The names of these regulations are 'Typikai diataxeis', ''Hypotyposeis' or 'Ktetorika Typika'. They include not only the rules of organised worship, but also rules for the coenobitic way of life. Of interest is the preceding *Letter of Theodoros the Studite to the kanonarchs of the churches* (Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς κανονάρχας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν). In general, the importance of Theodoros the Studite for coenobitic life is strongly emphasised by adopting the extensive reading from his Catecheses in the annual liturgical programme as indicated in Typikon Dionysiou.

The handwritten Typikon of Mone Dionysiou (codex 850) reveals a stratified Byzantine calendaric structure[103], based on a simple liturgical principle, that of unceasing prayer the whole year around. The

[99] The librarian of M. Karakallou, Fr. Nektarios, who was for many years the typikaris of the monastery, told us of the important role of the Hegoumenos (at the moment, the Most Reverent Abbot Philotheos) with regard to the local coenobitic liturgical practice and the choices made, as he is also responsible for the peronal 'typikon' of the monks (his prayer rule or *κανών*).

[100] G. K. Papazoglou, 'Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος χειρογράφων μονῆς Διονυσίου Ἁγίου Ὄρους (Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφή, χφφ. 805-1064)', *Θεολογία*, 61 (1990), pp. 443-494; 502-503 (pl.).

[101] See Dimitriesvki III, No CXLI, codex 449, p. 517-522.

[102] See the Prologos of the M. Dionysiou Hegoumenos Petros, pp. ιβ'-ιγ'.

[103] The following observations are based on the electronic printed version, Τυπικόν ἤτοι Τυπικὴ διάταξις τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς ἀκολουθίας, τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὄρθρου καὶ τῆς Λειτουργίας, κατά τε τὰς

Typikon shows how this high-standing monastic ideal was managed in the daily and weekly practice of coenobitic life. The Byzantine calendar is sanctified, organised time (days, weeks, months) and this is what is correspondingly expressed in the Typikon structures:

I. Menologion or monthly cycle [Typikon Dionysiou, pp. 7-407]
This part of the Typikon's fixed calendar structure is built up according to the days of the twelve months of the ecclesiastical-liturgical year, which runs from September to August (including 30/31 days and February 28, with day-night divisons of the 24 hours); this is the fullest part of the Typikon, including many references to the movable cycle (the 'synaxarion') and how to combine the cycles (also for the Matthew and Luke weeks after Pentecost).

II. Synaxarion or weekly order [Typikon Dionysiou, p. 411-547]
This part of the Typikon's movable calendar is based on the Byzantine hebdomadal (seven days) structure. The week commences on the Eve of Sunday (1st day, day of the Lord or Kyriake), is then followed by the five numbered weekdays (kathemerinai): 2nd day, 3rd, 4th, 5th or preparation day (or paraskeue) and culminates in the Sabbath day (the 7th day), clearly reflecting the Week of the Creation and the Week of the Renewing (Week after Pascha). The Synaxarion consists of the Triodion (p. 411-490) and Pentekostarion periods (p. 491-547), without a clear dividing line between them: Triodion = Tessarakoste-Pascha (7 weeks) and Pentekostarion = Pascha-Pentecost (7 weeks and one day)[104].

Presupposed is the Horologion or daily order [Typikon Dionysiou, both Menologion and Synaxarion, *passim*]

This regular daily order of the coenobitic liturgical programme is presupposed in the menologion as well as in the synaxarion cycles. Included are all 24 hours of the day, divided into 8 (clustered) prayer hours; the Byzantine day starts at midnight, followed by the Orthros, the First, Third, Sixth and Ninth Hours, Hesperinos and Apodeipnon. The Divine Liturgy is also celebrated on a daily basis, and follows the sixth hour (but stays outside the daily prayer order).

The liturgical corpora, codices and printed books, were structured in accordance with the provided Typikon cycles: the 12 Menaia and the Synaxaristes (and foregoing Synaxarion and Menologion codices) correspond to I (*immovable menologion structure*); the Horologion (Hours of prayer on a daily basis) and Euchologion (daily liturgies and other mysteries of the Church) to III (*fixed horologion–euchologion structure*); Triodion, Pentekostarion, Oktoechos or Parakletike, Panegyrika, Kyriakodromia and the Asketika group to II (*movable synaxarion structure*). The Evangelion, Praxapostolos and Prophetologion are structured according to I, II and III. Also hagiographical, homiletic and ascetical corpora are composed according to I, II and III. Prophetologia are also composed around the mixed calendaric structure (I, II, III). Psalterion codices are structured according to a daily-weekly cycle (II, III).

Κυριακὰς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ πασῶν τῶν περιπτώσεων αὐτῶν, ed. by Hiera Mone Hagiou Dionysiou, Hagion Oros, 2004.

[104] The weeks after Pentecost are partly mentioned in the Menologion section of the Typikon (as far as it is necessary for the combination of the readings) and partly is the Evangelion codex presupposed (referred to as 'anagnosis of the day, or feast'), in which the lessons for the period between the Pentcostarion and Triodion are presented.

Specimen of the liturgical structure of Dionysiou Typikon
Part I: p. 7-407. [Menologion Part]

1 Sept.
p. 7: hesperinos : ta anagnosmata [presupposed propheteiai][Menaion].
p. 7: orthros : Evangelion is not read.
p. 7: orthros : stichologia of the Psalterion.
p. 8: orthros : to Menaion Konst. (see explanation on p. 657).
p. 8: after First Hour : Katechesis H. Theodorou the Studite (see p. 6 and p. 653).
p. 8: leitourgia : apostoloevangelia of the indiktion, theotokos and saint. [Apostolos and Evangelion]
p. 8: after hagiasmos: bios from the Neos Paradeisos.
p. 8: (at the bottom of the page) : hagiasmos in Euchologion.
p. 9: hesperinos : stichera anastasima in Oktoechos.
p. 10: after the Leitourgia : anagnoseis from the Kyriakodromia.

2 Sept.
p. 10: bios of Ioannes the faster in Synaxaristes. (see p. 651, ed. by Doukakis)
p. 11: leitourgia : apostoloevangelion of the day.

3 Sept.
p. 11: menaion of Konstan. (see p. 657).
p. 11: leitourgia : Apostoloevangelion of the day.
p. 11: bios of Anthimos in Synaxaristes. (see p. 651, ed. by Doukakis)

4 Sept.
p. 12 : Hesperinos : stichera anastasima in Oktoechos.
p. 12: Orthros : kanones in Oktoechos.
p. 12: Hesperinos : stichera anastasima in Oktoechos.

Etc.

Part II: p. 411-547. [Synaxarion Part]

Tessarakoste
- Triodion, p. 411
- Hieron Evangelion, p. 411
- Apostolos, 411 [tacitly presupposed]
- Psalterion, p. 411
- Katechesis of Theodore the Studite, p. 411
- Kyriakodromion of Thetokes, p. 411
- Ephraim, p. 428
- Klimax, p. 430, 431, 434
- Lausaikon, p. 433
- Panegyrikon of Tessarakoste, p. 500, 502
- [Prophetologion] Profeteiai, apostoloi, evangelia

- Praxapostolos, p. 500
- Tetraevangelion, p. 543
- Asketika Ephraim the Syrian, p. 513
- Katechetika of Theodor the Studite, p. 512
- Klimaka of John the Sinaite, p. 516

Etc.

3.2 The basic structure of Typikon of M. Evergetis

To compare the data collected from the Dionysiou Typikon codex with an earlier Typikon, we have chosen that of the Evergetis Monastery (Constantinople) of the eleventh/twelfth century, which also contains a full coenobitic programme[105]. The full title is: Συναξάριον σὺν θ (ε)ῷ ἤτοι τυπικὸν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθιας τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγιας Θεοτόκου ΤΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΔΟΣ [the *Typikon of the Evergetis Monastery in Constantinople*], ed. by A. Dimitrievsky, vol. I, Kiev, 1895, pp. 256-614, [= Athens, Ethn. Bibl., Cod. 788, XI, 222 ff.].

This Evergetis Typikon codex was analysed by Ehrhard[106] and seems a fine point of reference for codico-liturgical research. These two Typikon codices, although they are far removed from each other in time (covering the whole period from the eleventh to the twentieth century) are very similar in liturgical structure, substance and use of sources proving the stability of the liturgical-ascetical tradition from the eleventh century onwards[107] (even from the ninth century, as Ehrhard stated[108]). Like the Typikon of M. Dionysiou, the twofold structure in Typikon E (Athens, Ethn. Bibl., cod. 788, XI/XII c., 222 fol., 29 x 21 (Sakkelion, p. 141f.) is clearly visible[109]:

I. Fixed cycle, f. 1-120v [ed. by Dimitrievsky I, pp. 256-499], divided according to the twelve months of the ecclesiastical-liturgical year, which runs from September to August];
II. Movable cycle [= Triodion and Pentekostarion period], f. 121-179 [ed. Dimitrievski, pp. 499-614].

[105] Joan Lena (CBM PhD student, Amsterdam) is currently paying particular attention to this Typikon with regard to codex formation of the group of homiletic corpora in liturgical context. This liturgical Typikon was already chosen by Ehrhard for the same reason in his codico-liturgical research of hagiographical and homiletical corpora. He used the edition of A. A. Dimitrievski (1895). More recently the Greek text was again edited with a translation by R. Jordan (vol. 1 in 2000 and vol. 2 in 2005).

[106] See A. Ehrhard I 1937, 'Einleitung: II. Das griechische Kirchenjahr und der byzantinische Festkalender', pp. 25-35, and additional to his exposition, pp. 35-53.

[107] The Evergetis Typikon is a coenobitic type, which was closely related to the Studite Monastery in Constantinople. From Constantinople was the Studite Typikon transplanted to the Athos in the ninth and tenth century.

[108] See A. Ehrhard I 1937, p. 30: 'Es empfiehlt sich daher, ihm die Bezeichnung: 'byzantinischer Festkalender' zu geben, zumal seine Rezipierung in der ganzen byzantinischen Kirche im 9. Jahrhundert vollzogen erscheint', p. 32: 'Die Überlieferung aller drei Gestalten geht gleichmäßig in das 8. bis 9. Jahrhundert zurück und alle drei bleiben nebeneinander bestehen bis zum Ende der byzantinischen Zeit und über ihre Grenzen hinaus'.

[109] Bibliography: A. Dimitrievsky (ed.) I 1895, pp. 256-614; A. Baumstark, 'Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des Byzantinischen Ritus', *Oriens Christianus*, 3.2 (1927), pp. 1-32, esp, pp. 24-26; A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 37-45; R. Jordan (ed.), *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, Text and translation, (Belfast Byzantine texts and Translations), vols. 1-2 [volume 3: Indexes], Belfast, 2000-2007, [3 vols.]. See contributions by Thomas and Taft in M. Mullett and A. Kirby (eds.), *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, Belfast, 1994.

3.3 Liturgical corpora of different categories in Typikon Evergetis[110]

Part I: f. 1r-120v. [Menologion Part][278]

- Menaion (Monthly structure, p. 256: Sept. etc., p. 406 mentioned) [in 12 volumes *per month*, referred to as 'menaion of the month January'] (Incl. synaxaria)
- Horologion (Daily structure, p. 256: hesperinos, pannuchis, orthros, apodeipnon, leitourgia)
- Euchologion (H Theia Leitourgia, p. 258; (Liturgy of Chrysostom, Liturgy of Basil the Great and Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts are prescribed)
- Evangelion, p. 258 (see note presupposed definite anagnostic system];
- Apostolos, p. 258 (see note above);
- Psalterion, p. 257, 567 (see note presupposed definite anagnostic system];
- Prophetologion, p. 257 (see note presupposed definite anagnostic system];
- Oktoechos [Parakletike], p. 257
- Synaxarion [Menologion] codices, p. 257
- Praxapostolos, p. 339, 356, etc.)
- Panegyrikon, p. 339
- Tropologion, p. 369
- Menologion, p. 568
- Menologion tou evangeliou, p. 286, 337

Part II: f. 121-172. [Synaxarion Part]

- Triodion I, p. 339, 479
- Triodion II [Pentekostarion]
- Panegyrikon of Tessarakoste, p. 500, 502
- [Prophetologion] Profeteiai, apostoloi, evangelioi
- Praxapostolos, p. 500
- Tetraevangelion, p. 543
- Asketika Ephraim the Syrian, p. 513
- Katechetika Theodor the Studite, p. 512
- Klimaka John the Sinaite, p. 516

Ehrhard used the Typikon of the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople (eleventh/twelfth century) as a *paradigm* for his hagiographical and homiletic codex classification and cataloguing work[111] and related this Typikon system (indirectly) also to New Testament codex research (Gregory)[112] and Old Testament

[110] Helpful are the indexes by R. Jordan from an analytical point of view, in R. Jordan vol. 3, 2007, 'Index of biblical elements', pp. 21-40, 'Index of non-scriptural readings', pp. 163-277, although from a codico-liturgical approach we need a quite different presentation of the biblical and liturgical books mentioned in Typikon Evergetis.

[111] A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 39-45. Provided are two lists of rubrical instructions of the daily Byzantine calendar included in Typikon E, first for the Triodion-Pentekostarion period (fixed cycle, pp. 39-42) and second for the fixed monthly cycle of feasts and commemorations of the Church (Sept 1-Aug 31, p. 42-45). It should be noted that in Typikon E the order is first the fixed and secondly the movable cycles (see A. A. Dimitrievsky I 1895, resp. pp. 256-499 and p. 499-601).

[112] A. Ehrhard I 1937, pp. 27-28. Important is further pp. 28-32 the codico-liturgical framework based on Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices ('short', 'full', 'middle' and 'mixed' codex types are distinguished and examples given), which was additionaly set up which regard to the classification of hagiographical collections.

(Rahlfs)[113], and moreover to ascetical and catechetical corpora. This notion of laying a Typikon manuscript at the base of codex and classification research (and the choice of the Evergetis codex[114]) was well-chosen and the same Evergetis Typikon remains highly useful for CBM research.

3.4 The Typikon at work in the collection of manuscripts in M. Karakallou

In the library of Karakallou codices of different ages are kept, from the ninth to the nineteenth century, which together form the firm codex-historical fundament of the monastery. They show how liturgical and calligraphic tradition persisted over many ages. The codices which were ruled by the Typikon – biblical, liturgical ceremonial, homiletic, hagiographical, and ascetical – can be grouped as follows.

GROUPS OF BYZANTINE LITURGICAL CODICES AND CORPORA OF THE M. KARAKALLOU COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

I. LITURGICAL TYPIKON CODICES
Τυπικόν (codd 303-305).

II. LITURGICAL BIBLICAL CODICES
Εὐαγγέλιον (codd. 94-101)*; Τετραευαγγέλιον[115] (codd. 292-302)**; Ἀπόστολος (codd. 36 and 273); Πραξαπόστολος (codex 301, together with Τετραευαγγέλιον); Ψαλτήριον (Ὠιδαί) (codd. 310-329); Προφητολόγιον (codd. 32, 278).

III. A. LITURGICAL CEREMONIAL CODICES
Ὡρολόγιον (codd. 321-322), Εὐχολόγιον (codd. 114-123); Ὀκτώηχος (μικρά) (codd. 255-256); Παρακλητική (Ὀκτώηχος μέγαλη) (codd. 260-268); Τριῴδιον (codd. 256, 306); Πεντηκοστάριον (codd. 256, 331); Μηναῖον (codd. 196-214) Θεοτοκάριον (codd. 131-133)'

III. B. LITURGICAL MUSICAL CODICES
Εἱρμολόγιον, Στιχηράριον, Δοξαστάριον, Ἀνθολόγιον (codd. 216-242).

IV. LITURGICAL HOMILETICAL CODICES
Πανηγυρικόν / Κυριακοδρόμιον (codd. 178, 190-191).

V. LITURGICAL HAGIOGRAPHICAL CODICES
Συναξάριον / Μηνολόγιον / Συναξαριστής (codd. 282-288, 291; 215).

VI. LITURGICAL ASCETICAL CODICES
The ascetical corpus of Ephraim: Λόγοι καὶ παραινέσεις (codd. 104-106); the collection of ascetical logoi of John of Sinai, Κλίμαξ (codd. 143-145); the corpora of Κατηχήσεις (codd. 129-130)

* See Picture 15: The oldest codex in Mone Karakallou, Hieron Evangelion (IX c.) and Picture 16: Page from the Hieron Evangelion, beginning of the readings for Great Lent (Mark).

** See Picture 17: Tetraevangelion codex (XIII c.) with icon left (Evangelist Luke) and ornament and enclosed title of the Gospel according to Luke on the right, marking the beginning clearly.

113 A. EHRHARD I 1937, p. 34.

114 Presupposed in Typikon E (by means of references) are the Typikon of the Studios monastery (A. A. DIMITRIEVSKY I 1895, pp. 265, 355) and the Typikon of the Great Church, i.e. of the liturgical programme performed in 11th century Hagia Sophia, the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople, (A. A. DIMITRIEVSKY I 1895, pp. 422, 2 times). See the Typikon codices described in the catalogue (Panaghiou holding) of the Patriarchal Library (M. KOUROUPOU, P. GÉHIN, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, vol. I : notices descriptives. Vol. II : illustrations, Turnhout, 2008).

115 Preferred is Τετραευαγγέλιον instead of Τετραευάγγελον (as in the Karakallou catalogue). The designation Tetraevangelion ('fourfold Gospel codex') seems the most adequate; it is used especially in the titles of the codices themselves, in catalogues of manuscripts and individual codex descriptions (sigla e in Aland 1994).

of Theodore the Studite (small and large collection)[116]; Ἀσκητικόν/Γεροντικόν/Πατερικόν (codd. 54-55, 176-177, 185, 187, 258-259, 269-271).

The Typikon structure, the movable and fixed cycles, with included typika, biblical, liturgical ceremonial and musical, homiletic, hagiographic, and ascetical materials, appeared to be constitutive for the *codex structure* of basically six large groups of interconnected Byzantine manuscripts. How these codex forms were constructed on the basis of their common liturgical structure in concrete detail, can only be presented after the description and analysis of the anagnostico-liturgical skeleton (in a planned subsidia series of Pinakes, see below), using codices of the eighth/ninth century and recent codices and editions.

3.5 Basic Typikon structure and liturgical corpora structures

In the CBM Publication a Subsidia Series is foreseen which will provide for the *Pinakes of the Anagnosmata* of the different classes of codices, in order to elucidate the characteristic codex forms with the help of the liturgical structures of anagnosmata on the basis of the Typikon substructure (see the CBM Publication Plan at the end of this volume). The following set up is induced from the Karakallou collection (small scale), serving as pilot model for a codico-liturgical classification, to the wider, universal 'collection' of Byzantine manuscripts.

I. *Liturgical Typikon codices*
   The full coenobitic Typikon Evergetis (eleventh/twelfth century) is the point of departure in upcoming Typikon research, commencing in the ninth century compared with the twentieth century Typikon Dionysiou.
II. *Liturgical biblical codices*
   Composed according to the basic liturgical structures provided in the first (Typikon) group are the following types of liturgical biblical manuscripts:
   1. Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices: anagnosmata taken from the four Evangelia and codicologically arranged into two annual series for the movable and fixed part of the Byzantine Typikon.
      Base codices of the ninth century.
   2. Praxapostolos and Apostolos codices: anagnosmata were taken from the Acts of the Apostles, the Seven Catholic Epistles and the Fourteen Pauline Epistles and codicologically arranged into two annual series for the movable and immovable part of the Byzantine Typikon.
      Base codex of the ninth century.
   3. Psalterion and Odes codices: anagnosmata are taken from the 150 psalms arranged in the form of psalmgroups (Kathismata) and sub-psalmgroups (Staseis); the Nine Odes and their reading should be supplemented.
      Base codex of the ninth century.
   4. Prophetologion codices: anagnosmata were taken from the Books of the Pentateuch, the Books of the Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah), and the Wisdom books (Proverbs, Sirach, Wisdom, Job) and codicologically arranged.
      Base codex of the ninth century.
      NB. Propheteia anagnosmata were also included in Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia.

[116] One may conjecture (as is also suggested by Ehrhard) that these 'small' and 'large' collections (and Ehrhard found also a 'mixed' type of both) were created for liturgical practice. See A. Ehrhard II 1902, pp. 226-227.

III. A. *Liturgico-ceremonial codices*

The Typikon basic structure is expressed, besides the Typikon codices themselves, in the so-called liturgical codices (meant is the ceremonial group, manuscripts including materials for the three Byzantine Liturgies, the Mysteries of the Church (Sacraments) and all the daily, weekly, monthly and annual services (akolouthiai), conceived and shaped for liturgical practice. These liturgical codices are fashioned according to the same Typikon structure as the manuscripts mentioned above, and serve as liturgical framework of the biblical and patristic readings included (sometimes referred to and sometimes adopted in full).

Intrinsically connected with group II (which is presupposed) and, of course, with group I) are the following subgroups of Byzantine liturgical-ceremonial manuscripts:

1. Euchologion codices.*
2. Horologion codices.
3. Triodion codices.
4. Pentekostarion codices.
5. Parakletike (and Oktoechos) codices.
6. Menaion codices.
7. Theotokion codices.

III. B. *Liturgico-musical codices*

Additional, but closely connected to the group of liturgical-ceremonial manuscripts (no 1 and 2) and hymnological codices (no 3-6), are the Byzantine chant codices (called 'Mousika' in the Greek catalogues). In fact, chanting in different forms and modes is the main characteristic of Byzantine worship. There is the well-expressed chanting of the Scriptures (the Evangelion by the priest or deacon; the Apostolos, Psalterion and Prophetologion by the anagnostes; the in the first place, the intonation on one tone (ekphonesis or recitation) with some melodic patterns at the beginning and end. The other liturgical codices are intended to be used by the kanonarchos, psaltes and choroi.

1. Sticherarion codices.
2. Heirmologion codices.
3. Anthologion codices.
4. Doxastikon codices.

IV. *Liturgical homiletical codices*

1. Homilies on the 4 Gospels: based on liturgical continuous explanations of the readings the whole year around, see John Chrysostom, Homilies on John, Homily 11.
2. Homilies on the Acts, 7 Catholic Epistles, and 14 Pauline Epistles based on liturgical continuous explanations of the readings.
3. Panegyrikon codices based on liturgical readings for Orthros taken from the homiletic collections of different fathers, intended for the Movable cycle (Triodion and Pentekostarion periods) or the Immovable cycle (Sept-Aug) or mixed compositions (see Politis, Ehrhard).
4. Panegyrikon codices based on liturgical readings for the Orthros taken from the collections of homilies of individual fathers (see lists in Ehrhard).
5. Kyriakodromion codices with homilies for all Sundays of the ecclesiastical year.

V. *Liturgical Hagiographical codices*

1. Synaxarion: lives to be read for the days of the immovable year, from Sept-Aug., in different composition forms and volumes.
2. Menologion codices: anagosmata taken from bioi, martyria, encomia for the immovable cycle in months.

* See Picture 18: Liturgical scroll (Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom).

VI. *Liturgical ascetical codices*
1. Katecheseis of Theodor the Studite
2. Ephrem's Asketika
3. Klimaka
4. Lausaikon
5. Gerontikon

It should be noted, however, that the suggested distinction created by this terminology ('liturgical biblical', 'liturgical ceremonial', etc.) does not exist in reality. These names over-generalise and also somewhat mislead, since such systematic categories do not exist in Byzantine liturgical practice. The manuscripts are *all* liturgical and their particular names stem from their *contents* and *function* in Byzantine liturgy (Evangelion, Tetraevangelion, Apostolos, Praxapostolos). But for the convenience of research, the existing demarcation lines will be adhered to.

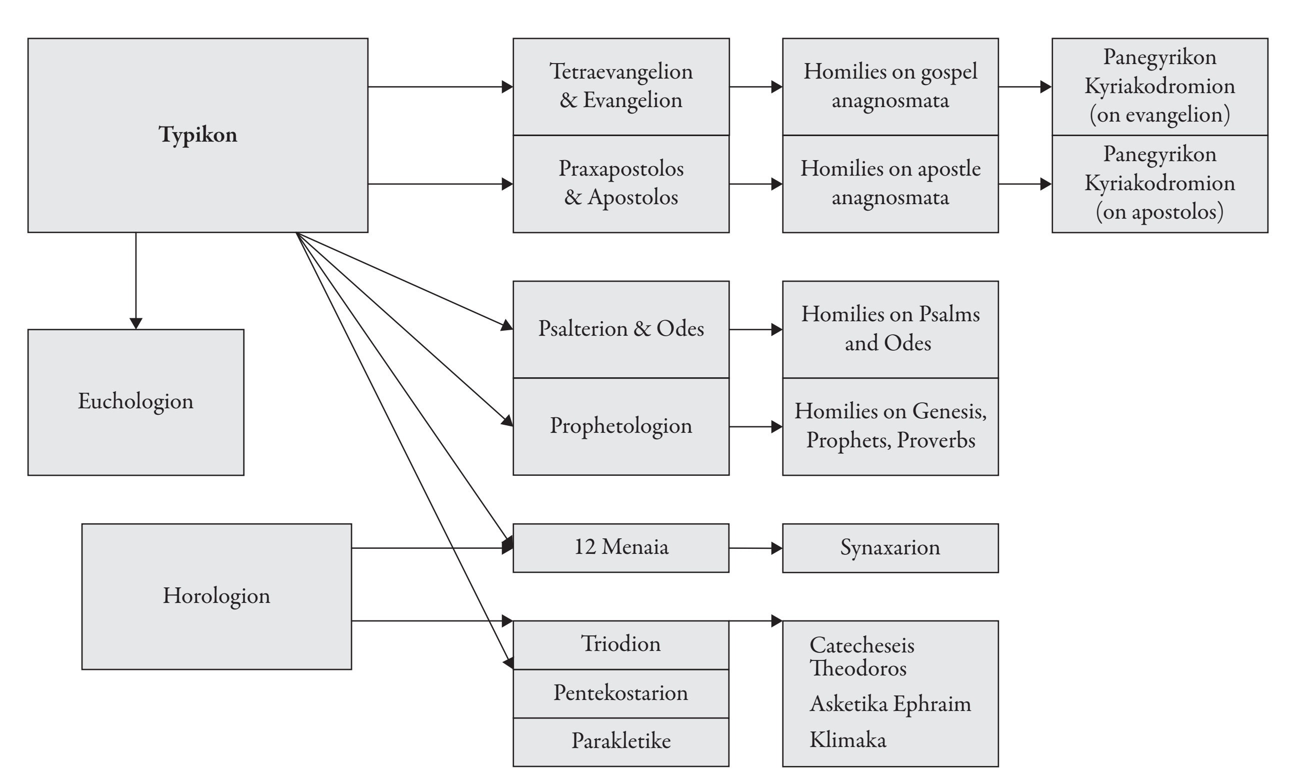


Diagram 2: Typikon of Karakallou and interconnected function of liturgical compilations

All these books are included in the Byzantine liturgical programme and were shaped in accordance with the Typikon structure as it evolved into its more definite form at the end of the seventh century (beginning of the eighth century)[117]. The Byzantine codices kept in M. Karakallou (as in the other Athonite monasteries), which date from the ninth to the nineteenth century, were used in the liturgical structures dictated by the Typikon, and it is natural to expect that the Typikon lies at the base of the liturgical structures of the kept manuscripts[118].

[117] See A. Ehrhard I 1937, p. 209. This opinion of A. Ehrhard concerns the hagiographic-homiletic codex conception and delivery in the context of his impressing catalogue work in this area.

[118] Greek printed editions of the different groups of liturgical compilations are not mentioned in Typikon Dionysiou 850 (the electronic printed version). A select group (less common known compilations are listed on pp. 649-661. The same print-

Concluding remarks

This article provided a contribution to the methodology of cataloguing the Byzantine manuscripts from the point of view of their liturgical context, on the basis of one mid-sized Greek Orthodox monastery, that of M. Karakallou. We have looked at why a coenobitic monastery is taken as paradigm [chapter 1]; the general organisational factor behind the liturgical programme of the monastery, namely the Typikon (Τυπικόν) and how the Typikon functions today [chapter 2]; and the different groups of liturgical books used in the daily offices and liturgy of M. Karakallou, with a view to their inter-functionality [chapter 3].

The different types of codices which are named and/or presupposed in Typikon Dionysiou (used in M. Karakallou and other monateries on the Holy Mountain), have been discussed[119] above with regard to the question of codex formation as a basis for the establishment of a codico-liturgical typology and, in a later stage, codex classification. The codices are presented in the order in which they appear in Typikon Dionysiou, in an effort to remain as close as possible to the Typikon structure. Since Typikon Dionysiou can be considered as paradigm of the full Byzantine calendar (since the end of the eighth/ beginning of the ninth century), it is possible to position the collection of Byzantine codices of M. Karakallou on this Typikon structure. On this basis it is possible to position the different classes of codices – typikon, biblical, liturgical-ceremonial, hagiographic, homiletic and ascetical codices – in their authentic liturgical context. Ascetical works of Ephraim, Theodoros, Chrysostom, Basil, John Klimakos and others, for example, were and are still read in the community and not only privately. The same applies to biblical commentaries as the Tetraevangelion hermeneia by Theophylact of Ochrid, read after the daily Orthros (for a reshaped liturgical codex form of the Tetraevangelion hermeneia, see Karakallou 90[120]) as well as studied privately (see Brianchaninov, Paisios the Hagiorite).

All these codices were used together in an integrated manner. The existing academic demarcation lines between books and texts do not in fact exist (and did not exist in earlier times) in the liturgical reality of the chosen small coenobitic monastery of Karakallou.

Annex. Select list of liturgical-ascetical corpora (editions and codices) presupposed in Typikon Dionysiou and today in use in Mone Karakallou[121]

I. *Liturgical Typikon corpora*

Edition used in M. Karakallou (together with other printed editions)
Τυπικόν ἤτοι Τυπικὴ διάταξις τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς ἀκολουθίας, τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὄρθρου καὶ τῆς Λειτουργίας, κατά τε τὰς Κυριακὰς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ πασῶν τῶν περιπτώσεων αὐτῶν, Hiera Mone Hagiou Dionysiou, Hagion Oros, 2004.

Karakallou codices
Τυπικόν, codd. 303, 304, 305 (15th, 19th, 13th c.)[122].

ings are used in M. Karakallou.

119 Demonstration of the concrete codico-liturgical structures of the different groups demands further thorough research.

120 Karakallou cod. 90 (XVIII c.). Title: Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ Εὐαγγέλια τῶν Κυριακῶν ὅλου τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἑορτῶν εἰς σύντομον ἐκλογὴν διὰ τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον.

121 This select list will provide to the reader some insight in a present-day monastic library, which is the continuation of earlier days with new productions.

122 The present-day Karakallou signatures are used (see for the corresponding Lampros numbers Royé 2010).

II. *Liturgical biblical corpora*

1. Theion kai Hieron Evangelion

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τὸ κείμενον τὸ ἐγκεκριμένον ὑπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, 3rd edition, gen. ed. Anastasios Androuses, Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 2003.

Karakallou codices
Εὐαγγέλιον, codd. 94-101 (9th–17th c.).

2. Tetraevangelion

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Τὰ τέσσρα Θεῖα καὶ Ἱερὰ Εὐαγγέλια, μετὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ed. Geron Theophilos monachos, reprint-edition of the edition of Venice 1853, Hiera Kalybe Hagiou Sabba, Hiera Nea Skete, Hagion Oros-Athos, 2008.

Karakallou codices
Τετραευαγγέλιον, codd. 292-302 (13th–14th c.).

3. Apostolos

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Ἀπόστολος, Πράξεις καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων αἱ καθ' ὅλον τὸ ἔτος ἐπ' Ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνωσκόμεναι καθὼς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν, 5th ed., Athens: Phos, 2002.

Karakallou codices
Ἀπόστολος, codd. 36 and 273 (15th, 11th c.)[123].

4. Praxapostolos

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Πραξαπόστολος, ed. by Skiti Agia Georgios Provater.

Karakallou codices
Πραξαπόστολος (with Τετραευαγγέλιον), codex 3 (11th c.).

5. Psalterion (and nine Odes)

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Ψαλτήριον τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως Δαυῒδ, μετὰ τῶν ἐννέα ᾠδῶν καὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ὅπως δεῖ στιχολογεῖσθαι τὸ Ψαλτήριον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, 9th edition, Athens, 2002.

Karakallou codices
Ψαλτήριον, codd. 310-329 (15th–18th c.).

[123] In the Karakallou catalogue the codex is called a 'Praxapostolos', but it is an Apostolos.

6. Prophetologion

Editions used in M. Karakallou
Propheteia readings were incorporated in Triodion, Pentekostarion and 12 Menaia editions (see editions below).

Karakallou codices
Προφητολόγιον, codd. 32, 278 (both 14th c.).

III. Liturgical ceremonial corpora

1. Euchologion / Diakonikon

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα τῆς κατὰ Ἀνατολὰς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ed. Spyridon Zervos Archimandrite of the Ecumenical Throne, 4th ed., Athens, 1992.

Karakallou codices
Λειτουργίαι (Chysostom, Basil the Great, Presanctified Gifts), codd. 153-165 (15th–19th c.).
Εὐχολόγιον, codd. 114-123 (14th–18th / 19th c.).
Εὐχαὶ διάφοροι, codd. 107-113 (16th–19th c.).
Διακονικόν, codd. 66-73 (16th–18th c.)

2. Horologion

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ εὐαγῶν Μοναστηρίων, 15th edition, Athens, 2003.

Karakallou codices
Ὡρολόγιον, codd. 321-322 (15th, 16th c.).

3. Menaion / Menaia

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Μηναῖον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου [...], περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν, διορθωθὲν τὸ πρὶν ὑπὸ Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ τοῦ Ἰμβριοῦ καὶ πάρ' αὐτοῦ αὐξηθὲν τῇ τοῦ τυπικοῦ προσθήκῃ κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, Τόμ. I-XII, 6th ed., Athens, 1990-2003.

Karakallou codices
Μηναῖον (of the different months), codd. 196-214 (13th–16th c.).

4. Triodion

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Τριῴδιον κατανυκτικόν, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς τοῦ τελώνου καὶ τοῦ φαρισαίου μέχρι τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου σαββάτου, 2nd edition, Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 2003.

Karakallou codices
Τριῴδιον, codd. 74, 256, 306 (13th, 14th, 16th c.).

5. Pentekostarion

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Πεντηκοστάριον χαρμόσυνον περιέχον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάσχα μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων κυριακῆς ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν, ed. by Bartholomaios Koutloumousianos of Imbros (ed.), 2nd edition, Athens, 2002.

Karakallou codices
Πεντηκοστάριον, codd. 74, 181, 256, 331 (13th, 15th, 14th, 15th c.).

6. Oktoechos

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Ὀκτώηχος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, περιέχουσα τὴν ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ψαλλομένην ἀναστάσιμον ἀκολουθίαν, ed. by N. P. Papadopoulos, Athens and Thessalonica, n.d. [1947].

Karakallou codices
Ὀκτώηχος (μικρά), codd. 255-256 (15th, 14th c.).

7. Parakletike

Edition used in M. Karakallou
Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη, περιέχουσα ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῇ ἀκολουθίαν, 5th edition, Athens, 2004.

Karakallou codices
Παρακλητική (Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη), codd. 260-268 (13th–16th c.).

IV. Liturgical homiletical corpora

Editions used in M. Karakallou

1. Logoi Panegyrikoi

Makarios Christianopoulos Hierodidaskalos (ed.),
Λόγοι Πανηγυρικοὶ καὶ Ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ Μακαρίου Ἱερομονάχου Χριστιανοπούλου τοὐ καὶ Μαριδάκη, Venice, 1747.

Makarios Chrysokephalos Metropolitan of Philadelphia (ed.),
Λόγοι πανηγυρικοὶ ιδ΄.

2. Kyriakodromia

Kyriakodromion (Theotokes)
Λόγοι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην Τεσσαρακοστήν, μετὰ καί τινων Πανηγυρικῶν ἐπιφωνημάτων καὶ ἐπιταφίων, ed. by Nikephoros Hieromonachos Theotokes of Kerkyraios, Leipzig, 1766.

Kyriakodromion [Homilies on Evangelion readings] (Theotokes)
Κυριακοδρόμιον, ἤτοι ἑρμηνεία καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὴν ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ κατὰ κυριακὴν ἐν ταῖς ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινωσκόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον, ed. by Nikephoros Theotokes Archbishop of Astrakan and Stauropolis, 2 vols., Moscow, 1796.

Kyriakodromion [Homilies on Apostolos readings] (Theotokes)
Κυριακοδρόμιον, ἤτοι ἑρμηνεία καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὴν ἠθικὴ ὁμιλία εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὰς ἀναγινωσκομένας ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ταῖς Κυριακαῖς ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάσχα ἄχρι τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς

τοῦ Παύλου τὰς ἀναγινωσκομένας ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς Κυριακαῖς τοῦ ὅλου ἔτους, ed. by Nikephoros Theotokes Archbishop of Astrakan and Stauropolis, 2 vols., Moscow, 1808.

Kyriakodromion (Agapios of Crete)
Βιβλίον καλούμενον Κυριακοδρόμιον, ἤγουν διδαχαὶ καὶ ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰς Κυριακὰς ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Agapios monachos of Kretos (Landou) (ed.), Venice, 1803.

Thesauros
Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως, μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ ἑτέρων λόγων ψυχωφελεστάτων καὶ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν, Venice, 1528.

Poimenikos Aulos or Poimenikon
Αὐλὸς Ποιμενικὸς ἢ Ποιμενικόν. Βιβλίον περιέχον ψυχωφελεῖς διδαχὰς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς Κυριακαῖς καὶ δεσποτικαῖς ἑορταῖς μιᾶς ἑπταμηνιαίας σειρᾶς, ἀρχομένας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Κυριακῆς τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς πρὸ τῆς Ὑψώσεως τοῦ Σταυροῦ, καὶ τελευτώσας μέχρι τῆς νέας Κυριακῆς τοῦ Θωμᾶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς Κυριακαῖς διατεταγμένην ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ed. by Prokopios of Megalospelaios in the Peloponesos, Leipzig 1780.

Evangelike Salpinx or Salpinx
Makarios Hierodiakonon of Kalogera of Patmos, Εὐαγγελικὴ Σάλπιγξ ἢ Σάλπιγξ.

Meniates
Elias Meniates Episkopos Kerkines and Kalabryton (eds.), Διδαχαὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην τεσσαρακοστήν, καὶ εἰς ἄλλας Κυριακὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐπισήμους ἑορτάς, μετὰ τινων πανηγυρικῶν λόγων, revised edition by Sp. Blantes, Venice, 1804.

Dionysios Metropolitan of Adrianoupolis
Dionysios Metropolitan of Adrianoupolis (ed.), revised edition by hierodiakon Spyridon Papadopoulos, Ὁμιλίαι διάφοροι, Venice, 1777.

Dionysios Metropolitan of Adrianoupolis
Dionysios Metropolitan of Adrianoupolis (ed.), revised edition by Sp. Papadopoulos, hierodiakon, Ὁμιλίαι εὐσύνοπται ἠθικαὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς Δεσποτικὰς καὶ Θεομητορικὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ χρόνου, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἁγίων, καὶ εἰς τὰς τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πάσχα Κυριακάς, Venice, 1778.

Skordiles
Makarios Skordiles of Kres, Hierodidaskalos (ed.), Βιβλίον περιέχον Λόγους Ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς καὶ Πανηγυρικοὺς εἰς Ἐπισήμους Δεσποτικὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ Ἁγίων ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ Μεγάλην Τεσσαρακοστήν, Venice, 1787.

Eustratiadεs
Spyridon Eustratiadεs (ed.), Ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰς κυριακὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Τομ. I, Triest, 1903.

Karakallou codices
Πανηγυρικόν / Κυριακοδρόμιον, codd. 178, 190-191 (15th, 18th–17th c.).
Makarios of Philadelphia, Λόγοι cod. 186 (14th c.).
John Chrysostom, Ὁμιλίαι (under different titels) codd. 146-149 (11th–13th c.), 151-152 (14th–15th c.).
John Chrysostom, Λόγοι, codd. 166-168 (17th, 17th, 15th c.).
John of Damascus, Λόγοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαββάτου τῶν Ψυχῶν μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Πάσχα, cod. 141 (17th c.).

V. Liturgical hagiographical (hagiological) corpora

Editions used in M. Karakallou

1. Synaxaristes / Synaxarion

Synaxaristes (Nikodemos)
Συναξαριστὴς τῶν Δώδεκα Μηνῶν, ed. by Nikodemos Hagiorites, 4th ed., 6 vols., Thessaloniki, 1998.

Synaxaristes (Doukakes)
Μέγας Συναξαριστής, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον περιλαμβάνονται οἱ Βίοι πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἑορταζομένων, ed. by K. Doukakes, 12 vols., Athens, 1889-1896.

Synaxaristes (Laggis)
Ο Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ed. by M. Laggis, 6th ed., 14 vols., (Athens, 1980-1984. [expanded edition of Nikodemos' Synaxaristes]

Synaxaristes (Simonos Petras)
Νέος Συναξαριστής, ed. by I. M. Euaggeliariou, Mone Simonos Petras, 12 vols.

Synaxarion (Venetian)
Συναξάρια εἰς τὰς ἐπισήμους τοῦ Τριωδίου ἑορτάς, ἤτοι Βίοι ἁγίων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης μεταφρασθέντες, Venice, 1601.

2. Hagiologion / Panagion / Bioi

Kalokairine (Agapios of Crete)
Βίοι Ἁγίων τινῶν οἱ ὡραιότεροι τοῦ Καλοκαιριοῦ ἀπὸ α' Μαρτίου ἕως τέλος Αὐγούστου, ed. Agapios monachos of Crete (Landou).

Hagiologion
Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ed. by S. Eustratiades, Athens, 1935. [Repr. Athens, 1995]

Panagion
Πανάγιον, ed. by Christophora of Hagion Oros, Skete of Timiou Prodromou.

Bioi ton Hagion
Οἱ Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων ὁλοκλήρου τοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῶν ἀκριβεστέρων Πηγῶν, ed. by M. I. Galanos, Athens, 12 vols., Athens, 1907. [Repr. Athens, 1985]

3. Menologion

Menologion
Μηνολόγιον, ed. Maximos Margounios Episkopos of Kythera, 12 vols., Venice, 1529.

4. Martyrologion / Eklogion

Neon Martyrologion
Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον, ἤτοι Μαρτύρια τῶν νεοφανῶν μαρτύρων τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ τόπους μαρτυρησάντων, ed. by Nikodemos Hagiorites, Venice, 1799 [and later reprints].

Neon Eklogion
Νέον Ἐκλόγιον, περιέχον Βίους ἀξιολόγους διαφόρων Ἁγίων καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ψυχωφελῆ διηγήματα, ἐκλεχθὲν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων βιβλίων καὶ εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν μεταγλωττισθέν, ed. Nikodemos Hagiorites (ed.), Venice, 1803 [and later reprints].

Neos Thesauros
Νέος Θησαυρός, 19 λόγοι εἰς Δεσποτικὰς καὶ Θεομητορικὰς ἑορτάς, βίοι, μαρτύρια, καὶ θαύματα Ἁγίων, ed. by Hieradiakon Georgios Sougdoures of Ioannina, Venice, 1782.

Neos Paradeisos
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Editions used in M. Karakallou
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Κατηχήσεις codd. 129-130.

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Karakallou codices
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Karakallou codices
Κλῖμαξ codd. 143-145.

4. Lausaikon of Palladius (Paradeisos)

Edition used in Karakallou
Λαυσαϊκόν, ed. by Ephrem Hierodidaskalos.

Karakallou codices
Λαυσαϊκόν, cod. 176 (19th c.),
Π*αράδεισος*, cod. 55 (16th c.), cod. 259 (13th c.).

5. Leimonarion of Ioannes Moschos

Edition used in Karakallou
Λειμωνάριον, ἤτοι Πνευματικὸς Λειμὼν [Φιλοκαλία Τόμ. 2].

Karakallou
Λειμὼν ἤγουν ὁ ἀνθηρὸς παράδεισος τῶν βίων τῶν ἁγίων, cod. 177 (17th c.).

6. Neon Leimonarion of Makarios Notaras of Korinthe

Edition used in Karakallou
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Editions used in Karakallou
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PART 4:

CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

The necessity and challenges of a liturgical series in the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts[1]

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Abstract
The presence of a great number of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts in monastery, state and institutional libraries reflects the fact that liturgy occupies the center stage in the Byzantine Tradition. Even so, minimal attention has been given by scholars to liturgical manuscripts; their description in most manuscript catalogues is at best insufficient, and there is no detailed classification system. The authors then present the "state of the question" regarding the cataloguing of liturgical manuscripts and argue that, despite the challenges present, an annotated checklist of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts grouped per liturgical book type would be a significant contribution to the fields of liturgical and paleographical studies, and propose a course of action.

According to the *liturgical hypothesis*, the driving force behind the new Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts[2], emphasis is placed on the liturgical function, form, and framework of biblical manuscripts. Looking at Byzantine biblical manuscripts through liturgical lenses certainly gives us a different picture which more closely reflects the liturgical context of the composition and use of the biblical manuscripts. Liturgy then, if we may speak as liturgical historians, is placed centre-stage. And liturgy certainly occupies the centre-stage in the Byzantine Tradition. This also explains the great number of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts housed in monastery, state and institutional libraries throughout the world. But this reality, namely that liturgy is central to the Byzantine Tradition, as reflected in the survival of a great number of liturgical manuscripts, highlights a tragic and uncomfortable reality: (1) most manuscript catalogues, especially older ones, barely give any description of liturgical manuscripts[3], and (2) there is no detailed classification system[4], as there is for biblical, patristic, homiletic, hagiographical and musicological manuscripts[5]. There are, we believe, three main reasons for this unfortunate and uncomfortable situation.

1. The organisation and classification of biblical, patristic, homiletic, hagiographical and musicological manuscripts originated in academic endeavours in the West, naturally reflecting their interests and viewpoints and rightly so. The emphasis on Biblical Studies in the Protestant Traditions,

[1] Many thanks are owed to the participants of the Expert Meeting held at the Protestant Theological University, Kampen, on 6-7 November 2009. Their comments and feedback have improved this paper. In addition, thanks are owed to the Historical and Paleographical Archive of the Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece and its director, Dr. Agamemnon Tselikas, where the first draft of this paper was written.

[2] S. Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition: Towards a Codico-Liturgical Approach to the Byzantine Biblical and Patristic Manuscripts,* Tilburg, 2007, summarised in Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research: Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri,* 47 (2008), pp. 5-144.

[3] Just to point to one example, see: I. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,* Athens, 1892.

[4] The principal guide for the classification of liturgical manuscripts remains L. Politis, *Ὁδηγὸς Καταλόγου Χειρογράφων*, (Γενικὸν Συμβούλιον Βιβλιοθηκῶν Ἑλλάδος 17), Athens, 1961, pp. 49-51 and pp. 61-69.

[5] See, for example, G. Stathes, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς,* vol. 1, Athens, 1975, λα΄-μα΄.

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 273-280.

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the renewed interests in the Patristic, Homiletic and Hagiographical Traditions in the Catholic Tradition, and research in Byzantine Musicology in Denmark and lately in Greece gave rise to specialised catalogues in the above fields.

It should be noted that although liturgical studies were on a path of growth in Russia in the late 1800s – early 1900s, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 halted all academic activity in the field. Thankfully, the foundational and pioneering work of Alexeij Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiceskix rukopisej xranjascixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago vostoka*, in three volumes[6], was published in time, making it, even a century after its publication, an irreplaceable tool, a valuable reference, and the point of departure for almost any project on liturgy. This work can be seen as a first effort to produce a catalogue of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts as it presents Byzantine liturgical manuscripts of the Euchologion and Typikon types from various libraries of the East, providing detailed descriptions and ample quotations.

The Baumstark/Mateos/Taft school of comparative liturgy[7] has brought new attention to the Eastern liturgical traditions and has pushed the development of the discipline of liturgical history forward. However, further study of the history of Byzantine liturgy is in dire need of a systematic catalogue of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts. A first such effort might be seen in the still unpublished dissertation of André Jacob, who provides us with a checklist of Euchologia manuscripts, although his main focus was CHR with detailed references to BAS and PRES[8].

Lists of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts can be found in the appendices of Robert Taft's multi-volume study on the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom[9], George Filias' study on the manner of prayer recitation in the Byzantine tradition[10], and Stefanos Alexopoulos' study on Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts[11]. To varying degrees these authors have used Jacob as their beginning. To these we should add the significant dissertation of George Parpulov entitled 'Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters' completed at the University of Chicago in 2004. Another such example is the pioneering books of Panayiotis Trempellas *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας*, a critical edition and study of the liturgies of Chrysostom, Basil and the Presanctified[12], and his

[6] A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiceskix rukopisej xranjascixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago vostoka,* vol. I: Kiev, 1895; vol. II: Kiev, 1901; vol. III: Petrograd, 1917.

[7] See for example: A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy,* Westminster, Md, 1958; R. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom vol. VI: The Dyptichs* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 238), Rome, 1991, pp. xxix-xxxi; Taft, 'Reconstructing the History of the Byzantine Communion Ritual: Principles, Methods, Results', *Ecclesia Orans,* 9 (1994), pp. 355-377; Taft, 'The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology.', in Taft, *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding,* Rome, 1997², pp. 187-202; R. Taft, 'How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy', in Taft 1997², pp. 203-232; Taft, 'Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics', *Worship,* 73 (1999), pp. 521-540, reprinted in Taft, *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine,* Aldershot, Burlington USA, Singapore, Sydney, 2001), article X; Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom vol. V: The Precommunion,* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 261), Rome, 2000, pp. 43-52; Taft, 'The βηματίκιον in the 6th/7th c. Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronios (BHGNA 1438w)', in, *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in the Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 260), ed. by H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska, and R. Taft Rome, 2000, pp. 675-692, reprinted in H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska, R. Taft 2001, article IX; F. West, *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark,* Nottingham, 1995.

[8] 'Histoire du formulaire grec de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome' Université Catholique de Louvain, 1968 (2 volumes).

[9] *The Great Entrance*, OCA 200 (Rome: PIO, 1978); *The Diptychs*, OCA 238 (Rome: PIO, 1991); *The Precommunion Rites*, OCA 261, (Rome: PIO, 2000); *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, OCA 281 (Rome: PIO, 2008).

[10] *Ο Τρόπος Ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Εὐχῶν στὴ Λατρεία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόρη, 1997).

[11] *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Units* in the series Liturgia Condenda 21 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2009).

[12] P. Trempellas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας,* Athens, 1935; reprinted, 1982. This work, still of great value, poses a challenge for the new generation of Greek liturgists as reflected in a comment made by a colleague, namely that 'many of the codices in the National Library have not been looked at since Trempellas reviewed them for his book.' It should

two-volume *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*[13], a study on the offices of marriage, unction, ordinations, baptism, blessing of the waters, dedication, matins and vespers. Both of these significant contributions employ the liturgical codices housed in the National Library of Greece.

All of the above provide us with limited checklists of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts on particular topics and certain libraries. They reflect the research and interest of each individual author, but do not describe the contents of the manuscripts in detail. Even the following article's attractive title 'The Greek Liturgical Codices of the National Library of Paris', published in *Θεολογία* in 1953 by Dimitrios Moraitis[14], is limited since it only addresses the codices that have the formularies of Chrysostom, Basil or the Presanctified. A new trend in liturgical studies is now to focus on the study of manuscripts of a certain geographical origin and location. Although this trend has proved to be fruitful, has shed light on various aspects of Byzantine liturgical history, and has helped us establish criteria in identifying the provenance of certain liturgical manuscripts[15], its focus remains geographically limited.

2. Liturgical History was not seen as a science in its own accord, but was seen as part of Pastoral/Practical Theology with limited historical value. As a result, the liturgical manuscripts were seen as having 'secondary' value. This approach is still reflected in a good number of academic institutions and in the mentality of many church leaders. As a result liturgical manuscripts are poorly described, or in some cases in peripheral libraries, not even catalogued. One can also see this attitude in the various microfilming expeditions to Sinai, Jerusalem, Mt. Athos and Meteora that took place in the sixties and seventies. While all of the biblical manuscripts and the vast majority of patristic manuscripts were photographed in full, many liturgical manuscripts, some of great importance for liturgists were either not photographed at all, or only a limited number of frames were taken of a couple of folia. The criteria were usually palaeographical or art-historical, but rarely liturgical. We have, however, to acknowledge that catalogues of manuscripts of various libraries that have been produced in the last three decades gradually give more detailed descriptions to liturgical codices (Meteora catalogue of manuscripts[16], the new Iviron catalogue[17], the new Vatopedi catalogue[18], etc.), and recent photographic expeditions cover in full liturgical manuscripts.
3. Orthodox academic and church institutions also have their own share of responsibility as they are literally 'sitting on' a neglected treasure. Not so long ago the field of liturgical studies was seen as the study and proper execution of rubrics. This attitude and approach has had far reaching impact on liturgical studies. In certain circles the view is even held that delving in the study of liturgical history and the ensuing results of this study border on heresy.

also be noted that this book is the outcome of a short-lived committee of the Ecumenical Patriarchate established in 1932 in order to oversee the correction of the liturgical books used in the Greek speaking Orthodox world (see pages γ-δ of Trempellas' book). Unfortunately World War II cut short the work of the committee which never resumed. The issue of the correction of liturgical books is still current. On the issue, see the paper of Dimitrios Tzerpos 'Ἡ Ἀναθεώρηση τῶν Λειτουργικῶν Βιβλίων ὡς Βασικὴ Προϋπόθεση Λειτουργικῆς Ἀνανέωσης στὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία Σήμερα' in the volume *Κήρυγμα καὶ Εὐχαριστία, Χαριστήριος Τόμος πρὸς Τιμὴν τοῦ Παναγιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀνθίμου* (Athens: Armos, 2009) pp. 143-155.

[13] P. Trempellas, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον,* II vols, A', Athens, 1950, B', Athens, 1955.

[14] D. Moraitis, 'Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἐθνικῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τῶν Παρισίων Ἑλληνικοὶ Λειτουργικοὶ Κώδικες', *Θεολογία,* 24 (1953), pp. 536-542.

[15] For example, Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska work on Byzantine liturgical manuscripts of South-Italian origin. In their numerous articles published, they systematically describe, re-date, and critically comment upon this particular group of manuscripts. In addition, Gregorios Ioannidis works with liturgical manuscripts of Cypriot origin.

[16] N. Veis, D. Sofianos, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος Περιγραφικὸς τῶν Χειρογράφων Κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων,* Athens, 1967, v. 1: Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως, v. 2: Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ, v. 3: Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου, v. 4: Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος.

[17] P. Soteroudes, *Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων,* Hagion Oros, 1998.

[18] E. Lamberz, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi. Codices 1-102*, Thessaloniki, 2006.

Within this context, a liturgical series as part of the CBM is a fascinating and promising prospect:

1. It will answer to a real need and fill in a huge gap in the study of Byzantine manuscripts.
2. It will place well-deserved emphasis on liturgical manuscripts, by far the most neglected category of Byzantine manuscripts.
3. It will promote liturgical studies, as it will make the primary sources of Byzantine liturgical history available in an organised manner and accessible format.
4. Current research on Byzantine liturgical history is more or less limited to the study of the Eucharistic formularies of Chrysostom, Basil, and the Presanctified. A liturgical series in the CBM project will enhance and promote research in other equally important but neglected areas of study in Byzantine liturgical history.
5. It will be a handy tool for people doing research in the area of liturgical studies, and will help especially PhD students and young scholars.
6. It will be an opportunity for institutional alliances, as such a vast project cannot be carried out individually or by a single institution. Cooperation in this project will enhance scholarly cooperation across borders, institutions, and confessions.

Nevertheless, such a project does face many challenges:

1. The huge scope of the project. We have to deal with an immense number of liturgical manuscripts, poorly catalogued and described, often falsely dated. This real challenge, however, can be overcome with broad academic and research alliances. A project of this size and value cannot be executed successfully by individual scholars or institutions.
2. Byzantine liturgical studies is a rather new discipline; as such many aspects of liturgical history have not been adequately studied and explored. For example, there are only a limited number of studies on the various liturgical books, their history, origins, evolution and use. A recent exception is the significant study on the 'Menaia' by Peter Plank, Carolina Lutzka, and Christian Hannick entitled: *Das byzantinische Eigengut der neuzeitlichen slavischen Menäen und seine griechischen Originale*[19]. This project will offer a boost to Byzantine liturgical studies as its object of study is Byzantine liturgical manuscripts, a principal source for Byzantine liturgical studies in general and Byzantine liturgical history in particular and will provide ample material for new studies in the field.
3. We believe that a detailed catalogue of all Byzantine liturgical manuscripts is unrealistic. Rather, we suggest that the purpose of the project be to produce an annotated checklist of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts, grouped neither under location nor under century, but under the 'type' of liturgical book it belongs to (such as 'Menaion,' 'Typikon,' 'Horologion,' 'Euchologion,' 'Evangelion'[20], etc.). In cases where the original catalogue entry is very poor, we offer a very basic description reflecting our liturgical interest. One of the authors of this article, the Rev. Demetrios Tzerpos, professor of Liturgy at the School of Theology of the University of Athens has been testing this approach in the Center of Sinai Studies of the University of Athens where all the Sinai manuscripts are kept on microfilm. Together with a small team

[19] P. Plank, C. Lutzka, C. Hannick, *Das byzantinische Eigengut der neuzeitlichen slavischen Menäen und seine griechischen Originale,* 3 Vols, Paderborn, 2006. See also A. Spanos, *A Critical Annotated Edition of an Unpublished Byzantine Menaion for June: Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11,* Dissertation submitted to the University of Bergen, 2007.

[20] Regarding the 'Evangelion' we should cite the following unknown but significant publications: V. Exarhos, *Τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Alexandria, 1935; idem, *Τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύον σύστημα βιβλικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐν τοῖς τακτοῖς καιροῖς δημοσίας λατρείας*, Athens, 1935; idem, *Περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Βιβλικῶν Ἀναγνωσμάτων*, Athens, 1936; *Ἱερουργεῖν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. Η Ἁγία Γραφὴ στὴν Ὀρθόδοξη Λατρεία,* (Πρακτικὰ Ε' Πανελληνίου Λειτουργικοῦ Συμποσίου. Ποιμαντικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 10), Athens, 2004.

of graduate students he has undertaken the digitisation of the liturgical manuscripts of these holdings. The purpose of the project is to catalogue and produce a checklist of the manuscripts per liturgical book.

4. Another problem that arises here is the issue of classification of liturgical manuscripts. There is a basic classification system (Politis[21]) but it needs to be refined. One issue to be discussed is the place of biblical liturgical manuscripts such as Psalters, Prophetologia, Evagelistaria, Praxapostoloi, not only for the valuable liturgical information contained therein, but also for the appendices many of these have with important liturgical material (such as a Typikon, or a Horologion). The outcome of research in this area will produce a 'guide to Byzantine liturgical books,' equivalent to the studies of Vogel and Palazzo[22] for the Western liturgical tradition, indispensable tools indeed in the field of liturgical studies.
5. Within this context we believe that a conference or a number of seminars on the genre and history of liturgical books and their classification would be highly important in the preliminary stages of the project. This would solidify academic collaborations and scholarly consensus upon which the project could be launched.
6. It is obvious that such a project can only be accomplished with long-term planning. Its success depends on institutional collaborations, funding, and the involvement of graduate students in research. Therefore, broad and international alliances with interested institutions (universities, research centres, national/university/monastery libraries with manuscript holdings) should be sought after. The funding of such a project should come from various sources (EU funding, national funding, private foundations funding, and individual contributions). This however necessitates a clear plan of action with concrete assigned roles to each participant institution/researcher/scholar.
7. We believe that the official language of the project be English. However, one issue to be explored is whether we use terminology in its original language (Greek) or its English/Western equivalent.
8. The results of this research project should be published in book form. However, we cannot ignore the usefulness of electronic databases, especially for a project such as this. Therefore, we believe that the results of this project should be also made available in electronic form.

Finally, we suggest that a start could be made with the manuscripts and microfilm collections housed in Athens: the National Library of Greece, the Byzantine Museum, the Benaki Museum, and the microfilms of the Sinai manuscripts at the School of Theology of the University of Athens, and the microfilms from various monasteries at the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Educational Foundation of the National Bank of Greece. Such a choice gives us geographical proximity, accessibility and a good size to begin with, which will enable us to test our approach. The Athens 'experiment' will allow us to judge, correct, amend and hopefully expand our project to the collections of Meteora, Mt. Athos, Patmos, and then to the collections in other European countries and the United States of America, which we consider feasible. We believe that the outcome of this project, an annotated checklist of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts grouped per liturgical book type, will provide a significant contribution to the fields of liturgical and palaeographical studies.

[21] L. Politis 1961.

[22] C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources,* Washington, DC, 1986; E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century,* Collegeville, MN, 1998.

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Greek and Slavic manuscripts with biblical content

Annotations toward the construction of new catalogues

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Abstract

There are a number of shortcomings in traditional catalogues of Greek and Slavic manuscripts with biblical contents, for example the focus on linguistic features that point to a codex's national origin e.g. Bulgarian or Macedonian. A new approach to cataloguing these manuscripts is offered. Since the liturgy was the natural setting of these codices, they should be catalogued according to their liturgical function. Greek and Slavic manuscripts should be catalogued together because they share the same liturgical function. Their comparison will illuminate specific aspects and forms of manuscript tradition. Some ideal features of this new codico-liturgical catalogue are listed, including the construction of a hierarchy of codices according to their liturgical function. The article finishes with some suggestions for those who may embark on constructing such a catalogue.

1. The aim of traditional catalogues

A new classification of Greek and Slavic manuscripts of biblical contents from a liturgical point of view represents an important step in our knowledge of the Christian East. This point of view reflects the idea of sacred scripture in the Eastern churches, developed during a long-established tradition, especially in the monastic environment. Sacred scripture is not only a book for personal reading, but is contained in fragmentary form in a complex system of books, with a mainly liturgical use or function. Traditionally, the place of proclamation and interpretation of scripture is the liturgical celebration. My focus here is the Slavic orthodox world, but it is possible to extend this idea to the whole of the Christian East:

> 'In Church Slavonic literature the first works to be translated and spread had a liturgical or paraliturgical function. This created a general perception of a body of 'holy books' (*svjaščennye knigi*) that extended far beyond the Holy Scriptures, to the extent that the distinction sometimes became blurred. The core elements of this body of liturgical and canonic books were the Gospel, the *Apostolos* and the Psalter, but it gradually expanded to include all the writings which in some way commented on and actualized the Christian message'.
>
> 'At least in an early phase this body of works must have included numerous Apocrypha, as is testified by the manuscript tradition and the abundance of citations in Church Slavonic literature (...). Even specifically canonic books like the Nomocanon, traditionally assumed to have been translated by Methodius, was one of the 'holy books'. Of fundamental importance for the creation and development of the ecclesiastical institution, these books were essentially based on the Holy Scriptures. They represented an attempt to make the Scriptures historically topical and at the same time were an indispensable tool for the realization of the sacramental and liturgical life of local churches. Following the interpretation of H. Goldblatt with regard to the *Skazanie o pismenech* of Konstantin Kosteneckij, the whole body of scriptural and liturgical books could

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 281-288.

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> be defined as 'the book of the Slavs'[1]. Specific research needs to be carried out into the notion and evolution of a complex of 'holy books' in the literary tradition of *Slavia Orthodoxa*'.
>
> 'The idea of a biblical canon that is distinguishable from the complex of liturgical and canonic books[2], and of an exegetic literature distinct from homiletics and apologetics, only became established in a later age with the emergence of a learned monasticism'[3].

If we look at the traditional catalogues of Greek manuscripts of biblical contents, we observe that the dominant aim in the classification of manuscripts is the reconstruction of the original text. From this point of view the fundamental question is to indicate the date and the form of the codex. Generally, preference will be given to the most ancient manuscripts, especially those with continuous text, hypothetically nearer to the form of the original text. From there derives the fundamental role of papyri and the attribution of secondary value to other textual forms and to other versions. There are also other classification criteria with different aims. These may be codicological criteria or artistic criteria (for example the presence of miniatures). This shows the dominance of different disciplinary interests in the analysis of Greek manuscripts of biblical contents, even though their function remains principally of a liturgical kind. There are naturally exceptions, such as the catalogue edited by Herbert Hunger and Christian Hannick[4].

The main aim in the research on Slavic manuscripts, regardless of the reconstruction of an oldest version, are the linguistic features of the manuscripts as witness to the 'national origin' of the codex. The codices are ordered according to their national affiliation: Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Russian *et cetera*. Textual reconstruction plays a secondary role, also because the possibility of reconstructing the ancient Cyrillo-Methodian version is quite remote. Moreover, in the field of the Slavic manuscript tradition, there are various classifications on the basis of disciplinary criteria, instead of functional criteria. In the past I have expressed my opinion on the limited usefulness of catalogues of Slavic manuscripts:

> 'Von großem Nutzen beim Studium der Struktur des Evangelienbuches könnten die Handschriftenbeschreibungen sein, die sich in den zahlreichen in den letzten Jahren erschienenen Katalogen finden. Zwar können sie hier, wie in der Einleitung erwähnt, nicht einzeln behandelt werden, doch muß leider allgemein festgestellt werden, daß sie zum großen Teil unzureichend und gelegentlich unpräzise sind. Zumeist beschränkt man sich darauf anzumerken, ob es sich um ein Tetraevangelium oder um einen, 'Aprakos' handelt, die linguistische Redaktion anzugeben, denen die Handschrift angehört sowie natürlich das Material, die Datierung, die Ausschmückung usw. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle ist es unmöglich, eine Vorstellung vom Inhalt des Buches zu erhalten, der, wie wir gesehen haben, in der Struktur beträchtliche Varianten aufweisen kann. Auch die besten Beschreibungen geben der Struktur des Buches nur knappen Raum und beschränken sich zumeist auf den paläographischen Aspekt, der der Bestimmung von Entstehungszeit und -ort dient. Nicht einmal der von Tichomirov herausgegebene Handschriftenkatalog bildet eine Ausnahme, der mit

[1] H. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy. Constantine Kostenečki's Treatise on the Letters*, Firenze, 1987, p. 227.

[2] G. Fedotov's opinion is generally quoted today: 'In Russia, the notion of the Biblical canon, distinguishing strongly between inspired Holy Scripture and the works of the fathers, never existed. All religious writings were called sacred and divine insofar as they were not heretical.' (G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, I. *Kievan Christianity*, Cambridge MA, 1946, p. 43). In fact the question deserves deeper study, starting with the impact of the patristic tradition on the biblical canon and the spread of the so-called Indexes of true books (I. M. Gricevskaja, *Indeksy istinnych knig*, St. Peterburg, 2003).

[3] M. Garzaniti, 'Bible and Liturgy in Church Slavonic literature. A New Perspective for Research in Medieval Slavonic Studies', in *Medieval Slavonic Studies. New Perspectives for Research. Études slaves médiévales. Nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, ed. by J. A. Álvarez-Pedrosa, S. Torres Prieto, Paris, 2009, pp. 127-148, see pp. 134-135.

[4] H. Hunger, Ch. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.* Teil 4. *Supplementum Graecum,* Wien, 1994.

Detailreichtum und wertvollen Hinweisen auf die Forschungsgeschichte 20 Handschriften des 11.-12. Jahrhunderts der Russischen Staatsbibliothek in Moskau untersucht'[5].

Based on this point of view, the manuscript cataloguing of the Slavic version and the Greek original was developed separately. If we consider the liturgical purpose of the books and their structure, the fact that they belong to the same tradition, even if they are in different languages, plays an important role and their comparison can enlighten specific aspects and forms of manuscript tradition. Unfortunately only a few researchers have been engaged in the comparison of textual forms of Greek and Slavic manuscript traditions with their liturgical use[6].

2. The new aim: the liturgical function of the book

The sacred scriptures are principally contained in books with a liturgical function. There are also readings and entire biblical books in codices without a liturgical purpose, for example, catena and commentary manuscripts. In these cases it is possible to use the definition 'paraliturgical books', because, even if they were not used directly in worship, they accompanied its preparation and represent important tools for its comprehension and achievement. The greater part of the manuscript heritage of the Christian East has liturgical or paraliturgical functions[7]. The Gospel book occupies the central position in manuscript production, the other books find their place with a different role in a system regulated in the second millenary by a special book, the Typikon.

Why then should one take the liturgical function as a guiding principle for cataloguing instead of textual or codicological criteria? The answer is simple. Every book must be analysed within its natural context. The liturgical books were principally not read in libraries, or for personal purposes, but were used in the celebration. The reading of paraliturgical books was also intended for the celebration. From this point of view it is possible to compare the liturgical books with icons or frescos, whose comprehension, on an artistic level, depends on the space where they were conceived. In the most recent years art historians have concentrated on the idea of sacred space[8]. The liturgical book also carries out its function in the sacred space of the liturgical celebration and has not been created for reading in an abstract church, but for a historical community, a church or monastery. Only from this point of view is it possible to understand certain differences between codices, especially their individual characteristics. It is important to underline:

'... the mediation of the liturgy in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. If we bear in mind that, especially in the monastic circles from which the majority of Church Slavonic writers came, the daily liturgical offices were the key moments of community life, it is not hard to imagine that the liturgy, in particular liturgical books, must have represented the natural context for developing an approach to the Holy Scriptures. Even

[5] M. Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2001, p. 259.

[6] I would like to recall the work of Yvonne Burns: 'Yvonne Burns kommt das Verdienst zu, mit dem systematischen Vergleich der Perikopenordnung des Lektionars in der griechischen und slavischen Handschriftüberlieferung begonnen zu haben. Obgleich sie nicht zu Ergebnissen allgemeinen Charakters gelangt ist, hat Burns den Beitrag hervorgehoben, den die Untersuchung der slavischen Version zur Kenntnis der Struktur des byzantinischen Lektionars in seiner Gesamtheit leisten kann' (M. Garzaniti 2001, p. 229).

[7] About the Slavic manuscript tradition see, for example, R. Marti, *Handschrift: Text, Textgruppe, Literatur. Untersuchungen zur inneren Gliederung der frühen Literatur aus dem ostslavischen Sprachbereich in den Handschriften des 11.-14. Jh.*, Berlin, 1989.

[8] See the idea of hierotopy in A. Lidov, *New Jerusalems. Hierotopy and iconography of sacred space*, Moscow, 2009.

> for the hermit monk, reading the Psalter aloud (sometimes in its entirety in the course of a single day) was a way of participating in the terrestrial liturgy, the mirror of the celestial liturgy. The Psalter, the liturgical book consisting of psalms and Old and New Testament canticles, was the tool with which monks first learnt to read and was usually learnt by heart, becoming an essential point of reference in literary production'[9].

On this level a better textual criticism will be developed. Not only the text's structure, but also the textual form complies with the different purposes and contexts. See for example the incipit of Gospel pericopes in the lectionary, with their six different forms, or the frequent adaptations in the desinit of the pericopes with additions or omissions[10]. The relationships between liturgical and paraliturgical books, which influence each other on a textual plane, deserve particular mention. There is for example an interplay between Gospel lectionary, liturgical tetra and commentary Gospel in the Slavic manuscript tradition[11].

The adoption of this new point of view may afford a better understanding of the different exegetical approaches that were adopted towards the texts. Together with liturgical apparatus, the codices often show different marginalia which were intended to help solving questions of textual interpretation. In the Byzantine-Slavic world there are Gospel books with the Sections of Eusebius of Caesarea (also called Chapters of Ammonius) indicated in the margin. This was an ingenious textual division which, on the basis of the Eusebian canon tables, enabled identification of parallel passages. It was used ever since the patristic age to enable a better understanding of the Gospels, and involved interpreting each section of the text with the help of parallel passages. This system exerted a significant influence upon the development of commentaries and homilies.

The new classification does justice to and, at the same time, can further a better understanding of liturgical history as it takes into account the continuous development of Christian worship and its adaptation to specific communities. There are also concrete limits to the theoretical reconstruction of an event, which never repeats itself perfectly. This may help us to take into consideration the centripetal force of the major liturgical traditions, for example the liturgy of the Great Church, or of the Anastasis Church in Jerusalem, and also the process of homogenisation that developed from Mount Athos, especially with the diffusion of the Jerusalem Typikon. The task of finding useful criteria to summarise the liturgical apparatus and notation remains[12]. The *Pinakes of Byzantine Synaxarion & Menologion anagnosmata*[13] provides a valuable provisional starting-point for the analysis of books that have biblical contents. It would be better, however, to present the pilot series with the traditional abbreviations of biblical and liturgical studies and to give the possibility of adding other elements of liturgical apparatus and notation.

The new catalogues will be useful for a better comprehension of Byzantine and Church Slavonic literature, especially of writings which have a monastic origin or have been composed with catechetical purposes. This approach helps to overcome the artificial division into literary genres, for example the distinction between hagiographic and homiletic writings.

In the original writings, biblical quotations usually play a fundamental role. Their deepest significance becomes easy to perceive not only in the light of their position in the biblical text, but also considering their place in the liturgical books and their role in the liturgy.

> 'Over the centuries a common system of references and associations was created through the liturgy; these informed the minds of successive generations and found their way into liturgical and paraliturgical books.

[9] M. Garzaniti 2009, p. 136.

[10] See M. Garzaniti 2001, pp. 41-43.

[11] See A. A. Alekseev, *Tekstologija slavjanskoj biblii*, St. Peterburg, 1999.

[12] S. Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research. Toward the Construction of New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', in *Sacris Erudiri,* 47 (2008), pp. 5-145, see p. 35.

[13] Publication in preparation by Stefan Royé.

> Contemporary sociology has developed the notion of 'collective memory' to define this phenomenon, though in this case it would be more accurate to talk in terms of '*memoria ecclesiae*', because it developed and was rooted in the Church, in the ongoing dialectic between the local Churches, with their own specific traditions, and the universal Church. This *memoria ecclesiae*, which is first and foremost 'memory of the Word', developed as part of a celebration, in which an important role was played by iconography, music, architecture and even paraments and sacred furnishings, together with the liturgical books, in the context of a liturgical action consisting of gestures and movements. This 'memory' was gradually enriched and transformed, becoming over the centuries a solid 'archive' of references and citations that can be found in Church Slavonic texts, even in those without a direct liturgical function. This served to interpret historic and personal reality, and was capable of subsuming individual events within a universal 'economy' (...) The reconstruction of this 'collective archive' is very important for a correct interpretation of Church Slavonic literature. We are in fact accustomed to placing biblical citations, but also apocryphal, patristic ones, within individual works, as if the medieval writer had the same libraries and critical tools that we have, inserting them into a very different context to that of the medieval writer. It is difficult to imagine, in so far as people have no experience of it, the power and stratification of meanings recalled in the liturgical context. The only comparable phenomenon nowadays might be the system of references and associations set in motion by modern means of mass communication'[14].

In his recent book on early Rus' homiletics, F. Romoli[15] clearly demonstrated the fundamental structural role of scriptural citations in homilies, which were constructed according to the rules of rhetoric inherited from Byzantium and which had an evident pragmatic function. The project of a catalogue of biblical quotations in the original writings formulated in the past, may find a better sense in relation to the new series of catalogues.

3. The desired qualities of the new series of catalogues and the perspectives of research

The codices will be classified on the basis of known data according to the liturgical or paraliturgical functions, considering the difficulty of indicating a clear boundary[16] and the individual character of the manuscripts[17]. It is not to exclude the presence of a codex in different lists of manuscripts, naturally with appropriate references. The structure of the codices can be complex, as for example in the Church Slavonic tradition, that of the Codex Hankenstein[18] or the so called *Il'ina kniga*[19]. It is also possible to adopt the 'retrospective historical approach', focusing in the first phase on modern printing. It must be underlined, however, that after the diffusion of printing, the manuscript and book tradition underwent significant changes.

In the list of codices of scriptural contents, it is important to establish a hierarchy according to their liturgical function. At the beginning one finds the Gospel book, lectionary and liturgical tetra, and then come the other books. After the liturgical and paraliturgical books, the other books with different purposes may be presented, but always those with a religious and educational function[20]. Deeper reflection

[14] M. Garzaniti 2009, pp. 137-138.

[15] F. Romoli, *Predicatori nelle terre slavo-orientali (XI-XIII sec.). Retorica e strategie comunicative*, Firenze, 2009.

[16] S. Royé 2008, pp. 79, 81.

[17] S. Royé 2008, p. 100.

[18] Edited by G. Birkfellner, *Codex Hankenstein: Codex Vindobonensis slavicus 37. Neutestamentliche Perikopen*, Berlin-Hamburg-Münster, 2006.

[19] V. B. Krysko (ed.), *Il'ina kniga. Rukopis' RGADA, Tip. 131. Lingvističeskoe izdanie, podgotovka grečeskogo teksta, kommentarii, slovoukazateli*, Moskva, 2005.

[20] See for example the presence of Old Testament books in the codices of East Slavic Chronicles.

must be given to the so-called composite codices (in Slavic languages *sborniki*) in order to elaborate a better classification[21]. As an introduction to the pilot series I would suggest the preparation of a little guide to the liturgical books of the Eastern tradition, as was done by B. Baroffio for the Latin tradition[22].

For the single text form (for example the lectionary) it is important to indicate the different criteria on the basis of which the classification of different groups of codices will be created. These criteria must be clearly explained and easy to apply. From this point of view the analysis of Slavic codices is more advanced than research on Greek codices. See for example the work of Lidia P. Žukovskaja[23]. The criteria and the data offered in catalogues of Greek codices must be compared with those of the different versions, beginning with the Slavic version. It will be very helpful to establish the different forms of books, also in their historical development and the criteria to create the different groups.

The detailed presentation of the structure of the texts and the liturgical or exegetical apparatus is very important also today for a text edition serving a number of different purposes, from the reconstruction of an *Urtext* to linguistic analysis. Moreover for the elaboration of standard texts (for example the Nestle-Aland edition), it will be meaningful to consider the liturgical function of the book, which either makes the transmission of numerous lections easier or more difficult[24].

The data of the new catalogues may also be compared with the data of different researches in the field of patristic literature, beginning with the precious tool *Biblia patristica*. Biblical passages are interpreted better when taking their role and place in the liturgical books and the context of worship into account[25].

Hagiographic studies will receive a new impulse from the data of the new catalogues, especially from the notation of the saints' feasts. It will be important to pay attention not only to the introduction of local feasts, as habitually found in the catalogues of Slavic codices, but also to the presence of feasts, which play a role in the history of liturgy, especially in relation to celebrations of saints on different dates[26].

The interpretation of miniatures may be facilitated in accordance with the liturgical function of the book, besides the function of illustration[27].

[21] S. Royé 2008, p. 86.

[22] B. Baroffio, 'I manoscritti liturgici', in *Guida a una descrizione uniforme dei manoscritti e al loro censimento*, ed. by V. Jemolo, M. Morelli, Roma, 1990, pp. 145-193.

[23] L. P. Žukovskaja, *Tekstologija i jazyk drenejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov,* Moskva, 1976. But see the strong review by Christian Hannick (Ch. Hannick, 'L. P. Zukovskaja, Tekstologija i jazyk drevnejšich slavjanskich pamjatnikov, Moskva, 'Nauka', 1976, 368 str.', in *Russia Mediaevalis,* V, 1 (1984), pp. 198-209). It is important however to underline the difference in terminology: 'Die Untersuchung der Textstruktur wird von Žukovskaja mit dem Begriff 'Typologie' bezeichnet. In den neutestamentlichen Studien dagegen wird im allgemeinen der Begriff 'Texttyp' zur Bezeichnung großer Handschriftengruppen mit gemeinsamen Varianten verwendet. Um keine Verwirrung zu stiften, ziehe ich es hier vor, wie bereits im zweiten Kapitel des ersten Teils angeführt, für die Beschreibung des Inhalts der Evangeliencodices von 'Struktur' oder 'Form' des Textes zu sprechen, auch wenn bei der Darlegung der Thesen Žukovskajas gelegentlich zwischen Anführungszeichen der Begriff 'Typus' verwendet wird. Zur Bezeichnung des Lektionars verwendet Žukovskaja die Termini 'kurzer Aprakos' und nicht 'verkürzter' Aprakos – wie es Horalek und Vasica vorgezogen hatten –, für das Samstags-/Sonntagslektionar, und 'vollständiger Aprakos' für das Wochentagslektionar' (M. Garzaniti 2001, p. 214).

[24] See for example our studies comparing the Greek and Slavic text of the Gospel. M. Garzaniti, '*Der griechische Text der Evangelien und die slavische Version*', in *Studia Philologica Slavica. Festschrift für Gerhard Birkfellner zum 65. Geburtstag, gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. by B. Symanzyk, Berlin, 2006, I, pp. 139-148; M. Garzaniti, A. Alberti, 'Slavjanskaja versija grečeskogo teksta evangelija: Evangelie Ivana Aleksandra i pravka perevoda Svjaščennogo pisanija', in *Problemi na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo i na Bălgarska kultura prez XIV vek*, Sofija, 2007, pp. 180-190.

[25] M. Garzaniti, 'Sacre scritture ed esegesi patristica nella Vita di Metodio', in *Hagiologica. Studi per Réginald Grégoire*, ed. by A. Bartolomei Romagnoli, U. Paoli, P. Piatti ('Bibliotheca Montisfani' 30), Fabriano, 2012, in print.

[26] M. Garzaniti, 'Il culto dei santi nella Slavia ortodossa alla luce dei libri del Vangelo e dell'Apostolo. Prima parte', in *Liturgia e agiografia tra Roma e Costantinopoli. Atti del I e II Seminario di studi. Roma-Grottaferrata 2000-2001*, ed. by K. Stanchev, S. Parenti, Grottaferrata, 2007, pp. 89-108.

[27] See for example E. Musakova about the structural function of ornaments in the Assemani Gospel (E. Musakova, 'Inizialăt kato topos i enigma. Vărchă primeri ot Asemanivoto Četirievangelie', in *Medevistični rakursi. Topos i enigm v kulturata na pravoslavnite slavjani*, ed. by E. Gergova, Sofija, 1993).

4. Particular questions

Generally the new catalogues should adopt the well-known abbreviations, while avoiding the mistakes and misunderstandings that were widespread in the past. In the first phase it will be very useful to prepare or re-publish the specimen of the structure of the principal codices. It is important to indicate the presence of tables (also with their dating if different from that of the manuscript), the liturgical apparatus (also with its dating if different from that of the manuscript) and to present the content of the whole codex and its function.

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The CBM Publication Plan*

(in cooperation with Brepols Publishers)

CBM Editors

(*Kampen, Tilburg, Amsterdam*)

1. Aim of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts

The proposed title of the catalogue to be developed within the framework of the CBM programme reads: '*Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* (CBM) in liturgical context: revisiting the handwritten monuments of Byzantine heritage in their present-day state of delivery'[1].

Research of the Byzantine manuscripts to date, which is represented in the specialised catalogues of New Testament, Old Testament, homiletic and catena manuscripts, as well as in local library catalogues of manuscripts, provides us with a wealth of information on singular codices (containing text of one category) and composite codices (containing texts of different categories) and a generally detailed, yet very eclectic picture of the biblical, patristic, liturgical and other sorts of texts contained therein. However, the catalogues do not provide us with an exact and complete insight into the actual, full content and form of the extant codices. The CBM programme sets out a path of catalogue (and codex) research, along new parameters, which we call codico-liturgical.

The leading idea is that the codicological forms of the Byzantine manuscripts, which accommodate the biblical, patristic and liturgical texts, are closely related to the liturgical function and purpose of these texts. The corpus of Byzantine manuscripts is characterised by diversity, but within this, standard codicological forms can be distinguished: codices that contain confined portions of text from the Greek New Testament or Old Testament corpora, or both (!), and those containing biblical texts combined with other specific liturgical and patristic books and texts, which comment on the biblical monuments in an extremely rich and varied way. The codico-liturgical approach can redirect the study of the Byzantine manuscripts to a system of cataloguing that allows for a far more complete and inclusive picture of the state of affairs of the codex forms in which the biblical and other ecclesiastical texts were handed down to us. This implies a thorough assessment of the existing categorisation systems (work which has already started[2], but which should now be extended by new catalogue research), and a reclassification according to codico-liturgical criteria with the establishment of a new taxonomy of codex forms or codex typology. This also implies at the same time, new hermeneutical and textual

* The CBM Publication Plan was discussed during the CBM expert conference in Athens (December 2011) under the title: "The Codico-Liturgical Method and its Implications for Cataloguing. *A New Look on Liturgical, Biblical, Hagiographical, Homiletical, and Ascetical Codices in Liturgical Context.* I. The Athens CBM Meeting: Biblical, Liturgical and Hymnographical Codices." The output of this meeting, will be published in a forthcoming second volume of CBM collected papers.

1 For a basic sketch of the conceptual background of the CBM programme, see in the beginning of this volume: *Preamble: Leading principles, aim and methodology of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme* (by the CBM Editors).

Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Subsidia 1, Edited By: Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst & Stefan Royé (Turnhout 2013), pp. 289-315.

 10.1484/M.CBM.1.101400

implications for biblical research. The main objectives of the new catalogue can be formulated shortly as follows:[3]

1. To provide adequate entrances to identified codex forms in their authentic liturgical function on a large scale, in libraries worldwide where these codices are kept (see the Sample of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices below).
2. To provide a comprehensive overall framework of interconnected codex groups ruled by the same fundamental liturgical substructure (Typikon system) (see the overview in groups below).
3. To provide an adequate codex nomenclature corresponding most exactly to the contents and form of the codices, in accordance with the codex titles.
4. To provide a restricted codico-descriptive paradigm in order to identify the manuscripts according to their essential liturgical characteristics. Foreseen are seven parameters with abbreviated apparatus indicators (see the Sample in Annex 1 below).
5. To provide a helpful referential system to relevant catalogues of manuscripts on which the codico-liturgical data are mainly based (see the Sample below).
6. To develop concise and practical catalogues in which updated codex data-bases are provided and the state of present-day specialised research is integrated.

2. Short assessment of existing catalogues

In order to be able to judge the necessity of the new catalogue under construction, we will here briefly revisit the various existing catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts that we have at our disposal today, and upon which the present catalogue builds[4]. The earlier catalogues form a strong historical network of catalogue research and codex studies and comprise the invaluable sources for our purpose. In the following, a few characteristics of these catalogues will be provided in order to position the new CBM endeavour[5]. A thoroughly elaborated assessment of the particular codex forms themselves, and the manner in which they have been represented in existing catalogues to date will be given in the prolegomena to each CBM volume (for the NT corpora, in Volume 1).

3. Geographical-topographical catalogue paradigm

Catalogues of manuscripts are most usually arranged according to a geographical-topographical paradigm, set up according to the places and libraries where manuscripts are deposited (for instance, Paris,

[3] See S. M. Royé, *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition. Towards a codico-liturgical approach to the Byzantine Manuscripts*, Tilburg, 2007; and Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research: Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri* 47 (2008), pp. 5-145.

[4] Select bibliography: M. Richard, J.-M. Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1995[3] [for further bibliographical references see pp. 1-5]; O. Mazal, *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, trans. by T. J. Wilson, in collaboration with M. McNamara, Turnhout, 1992; L. Politis, Ὁδηγὸς καταλόγου χειρογράφων (Γενικὸν Συμβούλιον Βιβλιοθηκῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος 171), Athens, 1961; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'Étude des Manuscrits Grecs*, Paris, 1954; V. Gardthausen, *Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften,* Leipzig, 1903; B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca*, Paris, 1708; B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, Paris, 1739, 2 vols.

[5] See S. M. Royé 2008, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Specialized Catalogues', pp. 28-31 and 'Existing Paradigms of Manuscript Classification', pp. 31-45, for assessments of the specialised catalogues of Aland (NT), Rahlfs (OT), Ehrhard (Hagiography/Homiletics), Karo/Lietzmann (Catena).

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec[6]). In the case of general (overview) catalogues, the libraries and holdings are presented in geographical-topographical order and in alphabetical succession. see for example the *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs* by Marcel Richard and Jean Marie Olivier (1995[3]), Alfred Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (1914), and in the same vein, Detlef Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII Jahrhundert* (2004)[7].

In catalogues of local libraries and holdings the order of codices naturally depends on the particular (bibliographical) system adhered to in the libraries in question and on the local usage of manuscript identification and reference (shelf marks), which is indeed topographical (the place where the codices are kept, or the heritage from where the codices stem in the case of the integration of collections from elsewhere)[8]. An example is the catalogue of the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, the Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη[9], compiled by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (vols. I-V), in which different holdings from monasteries in Palestine were collected in the main central library[10].

Codices are identified, numbered and described in (local) catalogues with the help of some basic bibliographical elements[11]. For example: *Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Sabas 104*. Such references reveal first and foremost:

a. Τόπος
The location of the library in which the codex is presently kept (*Jerusalem*);
b. Βιβλιοθήκη-συλλογή
The name of the library and the particular holding (the *Patriarchal Library*, the holding of *St. Sabas monastery*);

[6] See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements,* t. I-IV, Paris, 1886-1898 (cf. M. Richard, J.-M. Olivier, No 192 and pp. 644-651, and V. Gardthausen 1903, 'Paris: National-Bibliothek, p. 13-19).

[7] See the main title of this catalogue, 'Die griechischen Handschriften des A. T., alphabetisch nach Orten und Bibliotheken geordnet'. In both of these editions (Rahlfs and Fraenkel) the codicological qualities of the catalogues used are discussed (although Rahlfs is outdated it is still valuable in many respects). Albert Ehrhard did the same in the introductory part ('Verzeichnis der Bibliotheken') of his *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vols. I-III, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952, pp. XXI-LVIII, updated by L. Perria, *I Manoscritti Citati da Albert Ehrhard, Indice di: A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, I-III*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952, Roma 1979.

[8] Even in the case of such a systematic catalogue as Gregory (NT corpora) the geographical-topographical background of the used local catalogues is still visible in the order in which libraries and holdings were visited and codices investigated, with dates of these visits. See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, vol. 1, 1900: Kleinschrift-Handschriften: mss. Nrs. 4-41 : Pariser handschriften, pp. 128-138, Nrs. 45-58: Oxforder Handschriften, pp. 139-142, Nrs. 127-181: Römischen Handschriften, pp. 156-163, and so on.

[9] A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1915 [Repr., Bruxelles, 1963].

[10] See K. Athanasioudes (Archimandrite of the All Holy Sepulchre), Ὑπόμνημα ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων (1874-1881), in A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Tom. III, pp. 273-323. Also of interest are the 'holding-studies' of the Jerusalem Patriarchal Library by A. Ehrhard, 'Das griechische Kloster Mâr-Saba in Palästina: seine Geschichte und seine literarischen Denkmäler', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 7 (1893), pp. 32-79; idem, 'Der alte Bestand der griechischen Patriarchalbibliothek von Jerusalem', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 9. 10-11 (1892), pp. 441-459; idem, 'Das Kloster zum hl. Kreuz bei Jerusalem und seine Bibliothek', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 13 (1892), pp. 158-172; idem, 'Die Griechische Patriarchal-Bibliothek von Jerusalem. Ein Beitrag zur Griechischen Palaeographie', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 5 (1891), pp. 217-265, 329-331, 383-384.

[11] Cf. L. Politis 1961, 'Ἡ σύνταξις τοῦ καταλόγου: Περιγραφὴ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου χειρογράφου' and 'Περιγραφὴ ὁλοκλήρου συλλογῆς', pp. 105-117.

c. Ἀριθμὸς χειρογράφου
   The shelf mark of the codex within the holding (*Sabas 104*)[12].
d. Περιεχόμενον
   The short title of the codex contents (*Sabas 104 = Evangelion leitourgikon*).

In more systematically organised catalogues which give the codices new numbering systems (for example Gregory I-III 1900-1909, Von Soden I-II 1911², Aland 1994², Rahlfs 1914, Fraenkel 2004, Ehrhard I-III 1937-1952), the geographical-topographical signatures of the libraries where the codices are kept remained the anchor of all manuscript registration and reference systems[13]. For this reason, and for reasons already set out in the preamble to this volume[14], CBM has chosen to adhere to this geographical-topographical principle ('Ordnungsprinzip'). (See the Sample of the new catalogue paradigm in Annex 1 below).

4. Categories of catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts

Richard-Olivier 1995³, pp. 9-28; Royé 2007, pp. 129-134.

In general, five basic categories of catalogues exist[15]:

1. catalogues of a) local, and b) regional and national manuscript collections;
2. catalogues of large libraries (including different collections);
3. specialised catalogues concentrating on one specific area of interest;
4. catalogues of particular codex groups;
5. referential works to catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts.

4.1 Catalogues of local and of regional and national manuscript collections

(a) Catalogues of local manuscript collections

Richard-Olivier 1995³: 'Villes et autres lieux', pp. 71-857; Royé 2007, pp. 134-151; Rahlfs 1914 (assessment of all libraries and holdings where Byzantine codices including OT corpora), Ehrhard 1937 (also with short evaluations of the qualities of the available catalogues to him); Gregory I 1900 provides only rudimentary references to the catalogues used. For provenance data of the local libraries and earlier catalogues, see Gardthausen 1903.

[12] See L. Politis 1961, p. 114: "Ὡς βάσις..., ὅτι κάθε χειρόγραφον πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ ἴδιον ἀριθόν'. Cf. D. Nebbiai, 'Pour le signalement du manuscrit : cotes de bibliothèque', in *Lire le manuscrit médiéval. Observer et décrire*, ed. by P. Géhin, Paris, 2007, pp. 11-12.

[13] In these types of catalogues library indices are included ('Aufbewahrungsort' in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*) in order to refer back to the actual locations and collections to which the selected/described codices belong. See C. R. Gregory III 1909, 'Nachschlaglisten: 4. Griechische Handschriften', pp. 1431-1484; K. Aland (and others), 'Bibliotheksverzeichnis', in *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage, (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 1), Berlin-New York, 1994², pp. 429-507.

[14] Recalling the main arguments set out: to return always to the individual complete codex at location; to take into consideration the whole collection or holding to which the codex belongs; to investigate the library and collection situation with regard to a more comprehensive and functional/liturgical picture of the codices.

[15] In the CBM format are included basic data of different types of catalogues (Cat 1 = 4.1-2, Cat 2 = 4.5, Cat 3 = 4.3, Cat 4 = 4.4). See under 8 (2) and Annex 1 below.

The point of departure for manuscript studies is always the local library holding in which the individual codices are kept, and within which they belong to a wider collection[16]. The catalogues of these local libraries reflect the library system, the arrangement and numbering system(s) and the physical circumstances of the codices[17]. For instance, the individual Athonite monastic collections all have their particular 'monastery catalogues' (often in handwritten form): Mone Vatopediou, Mone Megistes Lauras, Mone Iberon, Mone Dionysiou, Mone Karakallou (and the other monastic libraries on Hagion Oros)[18] and Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs in Sinai, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou on Patmos, on which modern printed catalogues are build.

(b) Catalogues of regional and national scope

Richard-Olivier 1995³ : 'Catalogues Régionaux', pp. 29-70.

In these catalogues the collections of manuscripts from different places (churches, monasteries, private owners) in a particular region or country are united. For instance, the Athonite monastic collections [see Lampros I-II[19]], the collections of Byzantine manuscripts kept in Rossiiskaia Natsionalnaia Biblioteka (Russian National Library) and other repositories in St. Petersburg [see Granstrem], and collections from different places in Italy (see Mioni I-II[20]].

4.2 Catalogues of large composite libraries

Richard-Olivier 1995³, sub bibl.; Royé 2007, pp. 133-134 note 545.

The concentration of local collections of manuscripts (from monasteries, metochia of monasteries, churches, patriarchates) in larger libraries, in which the original holdings (Fonds) were brought together and maintained, resulted in corresponding catalogues of considerable size, in which the original holdings are successively described[21]. For instance: Athens, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados (Richard-Olivier, diverse collections, pp. 105-110), Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē (Fonds I-V, pp. 379-384, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Fonds I-XVI, pp. 231-246), London, British Library (Fonds I-IX, pp. 486-500), Oxford, Bodleian Library (Fonds I-LVII, pp. 605-625), Moscow, Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (Fonds I-XIII, pp. 561-568), Sankt Peterburg, Rossiiskaia Natsionalnaia Biblioteka (Fonds I-VII, pp. 717-727)[22]. Particular attention should be given to the provenance of the complete holdings of these libraries and the evaluation of the included codices in context of the holdings at location[23].

[16] In Richard-Olivier 1995³, pp. IX-XVI : 'Tables des villes et lieux où sont (ou étaient) conservés des manuscrits grecs, avec renvoi aux pages du présent ouvrage où il en est fait mention', 565 place names are provided. One may note that some 'places' (Hagion Oros, for instance) refer to a whole region and concern many libraries of monasteries, sketes and kellia, and that in other places large (and composite) collections are mentioned (Oxford). In certain places only one manuscript is found (Perpignan).

[17] See for example *A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum*, by G. R. Parpulov (ed.), *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, Vol. 62, 'A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum and Essays in Honor of Gary Vikan' (2004), pp. 70-197.

[18] See for basic catalogue information of one of the monastic libraries (M. Karakallou) in the context of the other monastic libraries on Hagion Oros, S. M. Royé, 'Γενικὸς Ἀλφαβητικὸς Κατάλογος Κωδίκων καὶ Βιβλίων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Καρακάλλου. General Alphabetical Catalogue of Codices and Books of the Holy Monastery of Karakallou', *Sacris Erudiri*, 49 (2010), pp. 439-536.

[19] S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, Τομ. 1-2, Cambridge, 1895-1900.

[20] E. Mioni, *Catalogo di manuscitti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, (Indice et cataloghi; 20), 2 vols., Rome, 1965.

[21] S. M. Royé 2007, 'Virtual decentralisation of manuscript holdings', pp. 128-129.

[22] The referential literature in Richard-Olivier concerning the historical background of the holdings at the head of the alphabetically arranged libraries is valuable. Gardthausen 1903 is still of worth in this respect.

[23] See the recent catalogue of one of the holdings of the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul and the historical excursion in M. Kouroupou et P. Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manu-*

4.3 Specialised catalogues

Richard-Olivier 1995^3 : Catalogues Spécialisés, pp. 9-28; Royé 2007, pp. 132-133.

These catalogues collect codex data of specific groups of manuscripts on a universal scale: biblical (NT, OT) corpora, liturgical corpora, hagiographical corpora, patristic-homiletic corpora, patristic-hermeneutic corpora, patristic-ascetical corpora[24]. Different systems of signature, classification and presentation within these specialised codex groups appeared over time. More specific codex data are provided in these catalogues, and they can function as basis for CBM work.

a. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including NT corpora (Scrivener, Gregory, Von Soden, Von Dobschuetz, Aland, INTF in Muenster (Handschrift-Kartei and Virtual Manuscript Room);
b. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including OT corpora (Rahlfs, Engberg, Fraenkel, Septuaginta Unternehmen, Parpulov);
c. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including liturgical corpora (Dimitrievski, Lossky, Getov, Allison, Spanos, Jacobs, Pentkovsky);
d. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including homiletic corpora (Ehrhard, Antonopoulou);
e. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including hagiographical/hagiological corpora (Ehrhard, Delehaye, Halkin, Canart);
f. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including ascetical corpora (Geerard: CPG);
g. Catalogues of Byzantine codices including canonical corpora (Gkinis).

4.4 Catalogues of particular codex groups

Richard-Olivier 1995^3, pp. 17-28 (and passim); A. Džurova 2002; B. M. Metzger 1981; S. M. Royé, 2008.

The focus on specific aspects of codices has appeared to be fruitful and productive for the study of complete codices. Important catalogues on iconographic, hymnological, chronological and calligraphic aspects of codices (including specimens of majuscule and minuscule script forms, works concerning the calligraphers themselves and their scriptoria, facsimile editions of individual codices, studies of particular codices) have been published and have stimulated Byzantine codicology and palaeography considerably. In the following list one may gain insight (in overview) into this particular group of catalogues with the names of some cataloguers.

a. Catalogues of iconographic/illuminated manuscripts[25].
b. Catalogues of hymnological/musical manuscripts[26].
c. Catalogues of chronological/dated manuscripts[27].
d. Catalogues of calligraphic art/dated script specimens and facsimiles of manuscripts[28].

4.5 General and special referential works to catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts

Richard-Olivier 1995^3, No 1-34, pp. 1-5; Royé 2007, pp. 132-133 ('The catalogue of catalogues', in *Répertoire des Bibliothèques* of Richard-Olivier, 1995^3).

scrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki, Vol. I : notices descriptives. Vol. II : illustrations, Turnhout, 2008.

24 In the overview of the different codex groups below the more important specialised catalogues will be indicated shortly.

25 See the catalogues of Weismann, Hutter, Vikan.

26 See the catalogues of Thibaut, Gastoué, Stathis.

27 See the catalogues of Lake-Lake, Spatarakis, Turyn.

28 Omont, Roberts, Barbour, Harlfinger.

The catalogue of Richard-Olivier 1995, third edition[29], is an indispensible tool of updated data concerning the libraries, catalogues and codices preserving Byzantine manuscripts of all types and in all quantities. The choice of using the original languages, Greek, Romanian, Russian (except Georgian, Albanian, Arabic, in these particular cases the original languages are not used) is excellent, because misunderstandings of language concerning the locations of the depositories are thereby reduced to a minimum. All catalogue entities received a referential number. Of great utility is also the updating of codex signatures of included libraries and holdings (codices that were seemingly lost or had disappeared, or that were used in older catalogues under different codes, can be re-identified)[30].

5. Codicological quality and scope of catalogues

Not all of the categories of catalogues of manuscripts mentioned above are of the same quality or are equally comprehensive[31]. The codico-liturgical methodology lays a different emphasis on the evaluation and presentation of codices in catalogues[32]. Before we turn to the criteria for such a new codex evaluation and taxonomy[33], it is useful to recall the view of Ioannes Karayannopoulos[34], who reviewed the status of on-going cataloguing work in the seventies of the twentieth century, subdividing the work into three classes:

1. Catalogues with full descriptive data of codices [see Hagion Oros, Vatopediou = Lamberz[35]];
2. Catalogues with considerable although not the fullest descriptive data of codices [see Vienna, = Hunger][36];
3. Catalogues with short descriptive data of codices [see London, British Library[37]]; Checklists of manuscripts [see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France = Omont[38]].

But even the outstanding catalogues providing rich codicological data and analyses of the codex contents (see under 1 and 2), are often incomplete or insufficient from a codico-liturgical point of view; for example the exclusion of precise descriptive data of the apparatuses included in the codices is a serious omission.

[29] Richard-Olivier 1995[3] is built on earlier editions: Richard 1948[1], 1958[2], Supplement I 1964. See further: Mazal 1992, Metzger 1981, Fonkič 1977, Politis 1961, Granstrem 1956, Gkinis 1935, Omont 1933, Gardthausen 1903, De Montfaucon 1739, De Montfaucon 1708.

[30] See D. Poirel, 'Le contenu. Typologie des instruments: En grec', in *Lire le manuscrit médiéval. Observer et décrire*, ed. by P. Géhin, Paris, 2007, pp. 201-202, 204-206.

[31] See S. Royé 2007, *Inner Cohesion*, Ch. 1: 'The Byzantine Manuscripts and the Western Cataloguing Tradition', pp. 21-51, included are assessment of NT, OT and other specialized catalogues.

[32] See S. Royé 2007, Ch. 5: 'The Contours of a Codico-Liturgical Model of Classification', pp. 153-165.

[33] See S. Royé 2007, Ch. 6: 'The Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts – in statu constructo –', pp. 167-182.

[34] J. Karayannopoulos, 'Bericht über Paläographie, Kodikologie und Diplomatik im Rahmen der Byzantinistik', in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Bucarest, 6-12 septembre, 1971), ed. by M. Berza and E. Stănescu, Bucharest, 1976, III, pp. 13-21.

[35] E. Lamberz, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi*, Band 1. Codices 1-102, Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 2006.

[36] H. Hunger, O. Kresten, C. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Codices theologici*, 3 Bdn., Wien, 1976/1992.

[37] *Summary Catalogue of the British Library*, vol. 1, London, The British Library, 1999.

[38] H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Supplément grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883.

6. Byzantine nomenclature and CBM codex abbreviations

The codico-liturgical approach concerns the complete codex forms in their original liturgical setting. Precisely for this reason we also return to the authentic designations in the codices themselves ('codex titles'), often mentioned in the so-called colophons (*ta sēmeiōmata*). The study of calligraphic notes at the end of the codices is very helpful in order to understand Byzantine nomenclature from a codico-historical point of view[39]. These codex names were used at least since the middle-Byzantine period (Kadas 2000[40] shows evidence of codex designations since at least the ninth century, with regard to the codex nomenclature in the Mone Vatopediou collection of manuscripts)[41]. It is also evident in this respect that Byzantine codicology revisits the original names of the codices and helps to develop a clear insight in the transmitted complete (full) manuscripts. CBM follows this positive line of research and will use in its catalogues authentic names and appropriate abbreviations: Tetraevangelion = T (Gregory/Aland: e) and Evangelion = E (Gregory/Aland: *l*), Praxapostolos = P (Gregory/Aland: ap) and Apostolos = A (l^{a}), Tetraevangelion plus Praxapostolos = TP (Gregory/Aland: eap) and Evangelion plus Apostolos = EA (Gregory/Aland: l^{+a}), and other codex combinations. [See the Byzantine designations in the exposition of the CBM publication plan below].

7. The implementation of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts

The CBM programme envisages three closely connected series of publications: the first concerns a concise catalogue of codex types, set up according to codico-liturgical criteria; the second is a pinakes series, providing fundamental liturgical reading cycles reflecting the liturgical structures of the codices; these two main series are supplemented by a subsidia series (collected papers of expert meetings, dissertations, monographs). It is clear that the Pinakes serves the catalogue work of the codices and is directly related to it. The production of the series of publications is an endeavour in which different international CBM research teams will participate and that will take place over a number of years, whereby catalogue volumes will be created consecutively.

The first volume of the catalogue concerns the group of NT corpora and more exactly the sub-group of Tetraevangelion (Gregory Evv, Aland e) and Evangelion (*l*) codices. This volume will serve as a paradigm for further volumes of other codex types, first within the boundaries of the NT corpora, later also extended to other biblical groups and beyond.

The Catalogue series (= I in CBM Publication Plan, see below)

The envisaged catalogues will present the classified codices grouped by library or holdings where they are presently kept, in the alphabetical order of these libraries. The local library codex signatures (shelf marks) are given a prominent place in the catalogue. In this manner, emphasis is laid on the manuscript itself, in all its uniqueness, as well as its position within the context of the local collection, its provenance. A short codicographical description of the character of each codex will be provided (standard palaeographical parameters), and, most importantly, attention will be given to the different types of rubrics and apparatuses included in the manuscripts. These apparatuses are indicated in abbreviated form: A1: liturgical appara-

[39] See D. Muzerelle, 'Colophons et souscriptions. Mentions de date, d'origine ou de copiste', in *Lire le manuscrit médiéval. Observer et décrire*, ed. by P. Géhin, Paris, 2007, pp. 157-175.

[40] S. N. Kadas, *Τὰ σημειώματα τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μεγίστης Μονῆς Βατοπαιδίου*, Hagion Oros, 2000.

[41] See for codex titles in the colophons also the catalogues of Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Jerusalem), Benesevic (Sinai), Vladimir (Moscow) and the descriptive notes in Gregory I and III.

tus, A2: concordant apparatus of the four Gospels (Ammonius/Eusebius), A3: isagogical apparatus, A4: ecphonetic-recitation apparatus. The prolegomena to the catalogue will present a complete overview and explanation of these apparatuses. Finally, a specific CBM contribution will be the provision of adequate entries to the manuscripts in the form of a new **codex type codes** (= CTC) with the help of a characteristic letter and a consecutive number of the codex group. For example, the *Tetraevangelion* is a codex including the four Gospels in chronological order. This codex type is marked as **T**; the *Evangelion* presents the four Gospels in liturgical order and this codex type is marked as **E**. Referential catalographical tools are provided for further investigation and checking data. The different types of existing catalogues are indicated in this way: C1: catalogues of local libraries that hold Byzantine Mss, C2: general entries to all libraries and holdings, C3: specialised catalogues of different codex groups (NT, OT, etc.), C4: catalogue descriptions of individual codices, iconographical catalogues, catalogues of dated manuscripts (etc.).

The Pinakes series (= II in CBM Publication Plan, see below)

The Pinakes series comprises Tables of liturgical lessons (*anagnosmata*), including tabulated series of interconnected lessons *in abbreviation* (in Tetraevangelion and Praxapostolos pinakes, at the beginning or at the end of the codex in the form of small parallel columns or tables). These tables are arranged according to the liturgical programme as described in Typikon systems, and display the two synchronic cycles of the Byzantine ecclesiastical year, commonly known as 'Menologion' – the fixed cycle of appointed feasts and days with corresponding readings according to the twelve months of the year (from September to August), and as 'Synaxarion' – the movable cycle of feasts and weekdays with its corresponding lessons. On this level, the Typikon reflects the whole of liturgical practice, including all liturgical books and including individual Typikon codices, written by different copyists, in different places and in different ages.

The Pinakes series is intended to support the Catalogue series by identifying and presenting the codico-liturgical framework within which the codices were born, and which is ruled by the Typikon. For example, in liturgical celebrations, the prescribed series of lessons presupposed in the Typikon (evangelia, apostoloi, psalmoi, propheteiai, homiliai, bioi, logoi asketikoi/pneumatikoi, etc.) were taken from the different types of codex corpora. For the group of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices a full coenobitic Typikon structure is presupposed[42].

8. Feasibility and timing

For reasons of feasibility, the group of NT corpora will be catalogued first. The two intended volumes (see for an overview below: Model for the contents of the CBM volumes) will serve as a paradigm for the other planned codex groups, which are closely related to the NT corpora (the publication of CBM volume I 1: Tetraevangelion codices, is scheduled for the year 2013/2014).

The other groups of codices to be catalogued are presented in the overview below in order to give an idea of the overall conception. The coherence of the envisaged body of catalogues reflects the *codico-liturgical reality*. It is exactly against the background of the whole, that New Testament corpora received their particular profile and sense. In order to render the production process of these catalogues feasible, we will strive to set up teams of CBM researchers to work on the different classes of codices. Preparations have already started in conjunction with universities in Athens in order to explore the cataloguing of the

[42] We opt for Typikon codices (from the ninth century onwards) and the tables of lessons for the movable and fixed cycles included in Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices (from the eighth and ninth century) in order to provide a solid foundation for the different pinakes.

Old Testament (Psalterion and Prophetologion) and liturgical codex groups, as well as the homiletic, hagiographical and ascetical manuscripts.

9. Short overview of CBM Publication Plan

The CBM Publication Plan, as it is to date, will be presented first in short overview.

I. **CBM Catalogue Series**
   A. Grouping of Byzantine Biblical MSS in liturgical context: NT corpora.
   B. Grouping of Byzantine Biblical MSS in liturgical context: OT corpora.
   C. Grouping of Byzantine Biblical MSS in liturgical context: OT&NT corpora together.
   D. Grouping of Byzantine Liturgical MSS providing the liturgical context and structures: Typikon, Euchologion, Horologion, Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaion, Parakletike/Oktoechos, Theotokarion, Akolouthia corpora.
   E. Grouping of Byzantine Hagiological MSS in liturgical context: Synaxarion & Menologion corpora.
   F. Grouping of Byzantine Homiletic MSS in liturgical context: Panegyrikon corpora.
   G. Grouping of Byzantine Exegetical MSS on NT or OT in liturgical context: Hermeneia and Hypomnemata codices.
   H. Grouping of Byzantine Ascetical MSS in liturgical context: Asketikon, Paterikon, Gerontikon, Lausaikon, Leimonarion, Klimaka, Katecheseis corpora.

II. **CBM Pinakes Series**
   A. Comprehensive Pinax of all Prescribed Readings in Typikon Evergetis (XII c.)
   B. Pinakes of all Prescribed Readings in basic IXth century Codex Types (Evangelion, Apostolos, and so on).

III. **CBM Subsidia Series**
   Collected papers of expert meetings, dissertations, monographs.

I. CBM: Catalogue Series — ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΙ

A. The Grouping of Byzantine Manuscripts in Liturgical Context: NT corpora.*

Volume 1

1.1 Tetraevangelion codices (T)
1.2 Evangelion codices (E)

Connection between Tetraevangelion and Evangelion

Tetraevangelion (T) and Evangelion (E) codices are two modalities of the four Gospels[43]. Both are basically liturgical compositions, which are read in orthodox churches during the course of one year in the order of John, Matthew, Luke and Mark. The Evangelion is a 'recomposed' Tetraevangelion, the latter functioned codex-historically as a prototype codex for the Evangelion. Once established (eighth century), the Evangelion became on its part and in its full form a prototype for a new series of Evangelion codex forms, varying from 'full' to 'middle', 'small' and even 'mixed' codex forms, when compared to the full Evangelion – the archetype. The complex procedure of the transposition from Tetraevangelion to Evangelion is also attested in later times. The Tetraevangelion codex is attested from the fourth/fifth until the eighteenth century. The Evangelion codex from the eighth century on (in fragmentary form also from the fourth/fifth century).

1. Short codex description of the Tetraevangelion (T)

Total INTF Tetraevangelion codex items (e)	**1.726** codd.
For CBM selected integral codices (T)	**1.312** codd.
For CBM selected partial codices (T^p)	**414** codd.

The Tetraevangelion (CBM: T, Gregory: Evv, Aland: e, Von Soden: ε)[44] is a codex type in which the four canonical Gospels are provided in chronological order (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John), for variations in arrangement, see Gregory II 1902[45], with exterior liturgical apparatus in many of the codices (more than 80%). There are 1.312 integral Tetraevangelion codices selected for CBM volume 1[46]. Moreover, there is a considerable group of partial (incomplete) codices (414), which are registered with a T^p signature (Aland eP: Mt Mk). This group is also incorporated in the same series of libraries and holdings, but at the end, clearly distinguished from the complete codices

* The select ion and grouping of codices of the New Testament corpus is already established for CBM (volumes 1-2). It is evident that the preceding catalogue work on the different codex groups is not the same, especially with regard to the biblical manuscripts compared with the other groups. The bibliographical references are for reason of clarity reserved for the catalogue volumes themselves.

43 The relationship of the current catalogue model in comparison with the Gregory-Aland paradigm (= INTF in Muenster) will be exposed in the prolegomena of CBM volume 1.

44 See for a sample of a table of this type of codices, S. M. Royé 2008, 'Assessment', pp. 106-108.

45 The codico-chronological arrangement is based on Byzantine opinion concerning the origins of the four Gospels, delivered in the ἐξεδόθη notes at the end of codices or in prologoi (Theophylact of Bulgaria): Matthew 8 years, Mark 10 years, Luke 15 years, John 32 years after the Ascension of the Lord. For alternative arrangements of four Gospel codices, see C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1902, Bd. II, pp. 854-56.

46 A considerable number of originally 'integral' codices became separated in the course of time and are presently maintained dislocated, in different libraries in the world. The identification and reunification of manuscript parts and pieces (and their renumbering) was undertaken successfully by scholars of the INTF in Muenster. Another group of 'integral codices' is mutilated (= †).

(the fourfold basic codex structure can not be ascertained in many cases). A special group forms the palimpsest codices, in which in fact, two layers of texts in the same codex are preserved. Another group of codices which should be treated separately are the biglotts (and triglotts).

Tetraevangelion codices were used as liturgical books. This one can observe in the added anagnostic-liturgical tables (pinakes) in Tetraevangelion codices (see overview table below). These tables mainly consists of two parts: one series of lessons for the movable part (synaxarion) and another series of lessons for the immovable part of the Byzantine calendar (menologion). There are tables in which the full programme of lessons are provided, representing readings for all days of the ecclesiastical year. There are also tables with reduced series of lessons (the 'middle' = esk and 'short' = sk and very short types k or various selections = sel (see the Gregory I distinctions). Often tables of lessons are incorporated for the morning service on Sunday (the eleven resurrection gospel readings, or heothina anagnosmata) and readings for different occasions and commemorations (diaphora). The choice and order of lessons in the liturgical apparatus in Tetraevangelion codices are basically the same as those of the lessons provided in Evangelion codices.

Total selected Tetraevangelia	**1.312** codd.
+ Lect data	**843** codd.
- Lect data	**353** codd.
insufficient data	**116** codd.

2. Short codex description of the Evangelion (E)

Total INTF Evangelion codex items	**1.796** codd.
For CBM selected integral codices	**1.144** codd.
For CBM selected partial codices	**613** codd.
Excluded from Aland List	**39** codd.

The Evangelion (CBM: E, Gregory: Evl, Gregory-Aland: *l*) is a recomposed Tetraevangelion[47]. The main codex form of the Evangelion contains lessons for all days of the ecclesiastical year, called the 'full' type (*l*e = hebdomades). Included are the four canonical Gospels provided in the form of series of subsequent and eclectic lessons organised in basically two series of readings (anagnosmata): one series according to the movable structure of the Byzantine calendar and another series according to the fixed structure of the Byzantine calendar. Readings for particular occasions and commemorations can also be part of the codex. There are also reduced Evangelion forms corresponding to the tables in Tetraevangelion codices (mentioned above): the 'middle' (*l* esk), the short (*l* sk) and 'very short' (*l* k) Evangelion. A limited group shows some variations in the basic codex structures. The exterior apparatus of the Tetraevangelion (the tables at the beginning and the end of this codex form) became the basis of the interior liturgical structure of Evangelion codices, by :

1. rearrangement of the text of the four Gospels according to the liturgical reading order: John – Matthew/Mark – Luke/Mark – Mark [for variations in liturgical structure in Evangelion codices, see Gregory I 1900 and III 1909]);
2. division of the continuous text of the four Gospels into portions of smaller and greater length (pericopes);
3. providing at the head of these lessons liturgical instructions or rubrics (indicating the day, service and from which Gospel the reading comes), in many cases also with liturgical pericope numbers;

[47] See for a sample of this type of codices, S. M. Royé, 'An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research: Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues of Byzantine Manuscripts', *Sacris Erudiri*, 47 (2008), pp. 104-105.

4. adopting the (since the eighth century) well-established twofold Byzantine liturgical structure (found in Typikon codices and Tetraevangelion codices with liturgical apparatus) as model for the twofold codex composition of Evangelion codices, with the movable part first (synaxarion) and the fixed part of the Byzantine calendar second (menologion), running from September to August.

There are some subforms of the Evangelion codex, derived from the full type (*l* e) (see Ehrhard and Jordan): the middle type (*l* esk), the small and very small type (*l* sk/k) and the select type (*l* sel). The *l* Lit and *l* Ps/Od are liturgical books and psalteria, not Evangelion codices. A group is at present unspecified (*l* unsp) or partial (*l* P). The numerical state of affairs is visualised in the table below.

Evangelion codices (*l* e)	**458** codd.
Evangelion codices (*l* esk)	**576** codd.
Evangelion codices (*l* sk)	**14** codd.
Evangelion codices (*l* k)	**13** codd.
Evangelion codices (*l* sel)	**26** codd.
~~Evangelion codices (l Lit)~~	~~27 codd.~~
~~Evangelion codices (l Ps/Od)~~	~~12 codd.~~
Evangelion codices (*l* P)	**613** codd.
Evangelion codices (*l* unsp)	**57** codd.
Sum Total (INTF registration)	**1.796** codd.
Actual Total	**1.757** codd.

For reason of the substantial kinship between Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices (in both cases the four Gospels were united in one codex) and common liturgical function (with different presentation forms of the main body of texts), is it justified to present both groups on an equal basis, and closely connected to each other, in one volume, underlying the common liturgical heritage.

Volume 2

3. Praxapostolos codices (P)
4. Apostolos codices (A)
5. Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos codices (TP)
6. Evangelion-Apostolos codices (EA)
7. Tetraevangelion-Apocalypse codices (TAp)
8. Praxapostolos-Apocalypse codices (PAp)
9. Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos-Apocalypse codices (TPAp)
10. Various small codex-type groups

The codices which will be included in CBM volume 2 are not preserved in such high quantities as the group of Tetraevangelion and Evangelion codices. The manuscripts of volume 2 are used together with the former groups and evaluated on an equal level (Praxapostolos/Apostolos lessons that are prescribed in Typikon codices always precede the Tetraevangelion/Evangelion readings). Combination codices (Tetraevangelion and Praxapostolos, and in other variations) are understandable from this 'combined' liturgical use.

Connection between Praxapostolos and Apostolos

The Praxapostolos (P) and Apostolos (A) are two modalities of the same threefold codex composition, in which the book of Acts, the seven Catholic and fourteen Pauline epistles (see for the internal order of these codices and varia-

tions Gregory I 1900 and II 1902) were collected into one codex and read successively in the course of one year. The Praxapostolos was arranged according a codico-thematical principle (Acts as ecclesiastical-historical framework of the Apostolic Letters); the Apostolos was composed according to the codico-liturgical principle. The Apostolos is a recomposed Praxapostolos. The latter codex type (Praxapostolos) functioned codex-historically as prototype codex for the former. Once established the Apostolos became in its full form a prototype for a new series of Apostolos codex forms, varying from 'full' to 'middle', 'small' and even limited codex forms in comparison to the full Apostolos, the archetype. Chronological limits are: eighth – eighteenth century for both types of codices (Praxapostolos and Apostolos).

3. Short codex description of the Praxapostolos (P)

Total INTF: Praxapostolos codex items	237 codd.
For CBM selected integral codices	210 codd.
For CBM selected partial codices	27 codd.

The basic codicological structure of the Praxapostolos (CBM: P, Gregory-Aland: ap, von Soden *α*) is threefold: the continuous text of two corpora of apostolic letters (Catholic and Pauline) preceded by an apostolic historical framework (Acts of the Apostles). Analogous to the Tetraevangelion there evolved also a series of liturgical readings, which were provided in tables at the beginning or end. The anagnostic-liturgical tables (pinakes) of the Praxapostolos codex is based on the same liturgical programme as the other liturgical books and consists also of two main parts, one series of lessons for the movable part (synaxarion) and another series of lessons for the fixed part (menologion) of the Byzantine calendar. Also added are tables with readings for various occasions and commemorations. The liturgical apparatus included in Praxapostolos codices is basically the same as in Apostolos codices. The following overview table makes clear that the Praxapostolos is rooted in Byzantine liturgy on the same basis as the Apostolos codices. The former codex functioned historically as an archetype for the latter.

Total selected Praxapostolos CBM	210 codd.
+ Lect	132 codd.
- Lect	48 codd.
Insufficient data	30 codd.

4. Short codex description of the Apostolos (A)

Total INTF Apostolos codex items	319 codd.
For CBM selected integral codices	233 codd.
For CBM selected partial codices	86 codd.

The Apostolos (CBM: A, Gregory: Apl, Gregory-Aland: *l*[a]) is a recomposed Praxapostolos, in the anagnostic-liturgical (re)arrangement of Acts, Paul and Catholic letters. The main Apostolos codex form basically provides two series of readings (anagnosmata) for all days of the ecclesiastical year (for this reason called the 'full Apostolos' or *l*[a]e) following the schemes in the Praxapostolos tables. Readings for particular occasions or commemorations can also be part of the codex. The exterior apparatus of the Praxapostolos (tables at the beginning and the end of the codex) became the basis of the interior liturgical structure of Apostolos codices

There are sub-forms of the Apostolos, derived from the full type (l^a e): the middle type (l^a esk), the small and very small type (l^a sk, l^a k) and the select type (l^a sel). The l^a Lit and l^a Ps/Od are not Apostolos codices. A group is at present unspecified (l^a unsp) or partial (l^a P). The numerical state of affairs is visualised in the diagram below.

Apostolos codices (l^a e)	129 codd.
Apostolos codices (l^a esk)	69 codd.
Apostolos codices (l^a sk)	4 codd.
Apostolos codices (l^a k)	1 cod.
Apostolos codices (l^a sel)	3 codd.
~~Apostolos codices (l^a Lit)~~	~~9 codd.~~
Apostolos codices (l^a P)	86 codd.
Apostolos codices (l^a unsp)	27 codd.
Sum Total (INTF registration)	328 codd.
Actual Total	**319 codd.**

The Evangelion and Apostolos reading schemes are profoundly connected within the Byzantine anagnostico-liturgical sub-structure (Typikon) and the various sub-forms of the Apostolos and Evangelion codices correspond exactly in how they are structured: *l* e, *l* esk, *l* sk, *l* k, *l* sel // l^a e, l^a esk, l^a sk, l^a k, l^a sel.

Connection between Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos and Evangelion-Apostolos
The Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos codex is the combination of codex forms 1 and 3 and corresponds to the codex structure of Tetraevangelion and Praxapostolos. Both codices were read daily in Byzantine liturgy (the Praxapostolos first, and the Tetraevangelion immediately following) according to the Typikon and the twofold combined codex form is the concrete and practical expression of this usage. The Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos and Evangelion-Apostolos are two modalities of the same corpus of NT books (the four gospels with the acts and catholic and Pauline epistles). The liturgical function is evident from the inclusion of synaxarion and menologion (see box below) tables as well as the liturgical pericope numbers in the margins of the main gospel text and the anagnostic-liturgical notes in upper margins or at the bottom of the page. Chronological limits of both codex types: ninth–sixteenth century.

5. Short codex description of the Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos (TP)

Total INTF: Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos codex items (eap)	147 codd.
For CBM selected integral codices (TP)	136 codd.
For CBM selected partial codices (TP^p)	11 codd.

The codicological structure of the Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos (CBM: TP, Gregory-Aland: eap, von Soden: δ), in Byzantine nomenclature 'Apostoloevangelion', is twofold, including the contents of the Tetraevangelion and the Praxapostolos (1 and 3) with the given subdivisions of these codex forms, i.e. the continuous text of the four gospels (T) in their chronological order together with the continuous text of acts (Pa) and the seven catholic (Pc) and fourteen Pauline epistles (Pp)). The order of Praxapostolos first and Tetraevangelion following is also attested. The anagnostic-liturgical tables (pinakes) correspond equally to the archetype codex forms, one series of tables for the movable part (synaxarion) and another series of tables for the immovable part (menologion) of the Byzantine

calendar. There are also added tables with readings for various occasions and commemorations. The liturgical apparatus included in Tetraevangelion-praxapostolos codices is basically the same as in Evangelion-Apostolos codices.

Total CBM: Selected Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos	136 codd.
+ Lect	94 codd.
- Lect	18 codd.
Insufficient data	24 codd.

6. Short codex description of the Evangelion-Apostolos (EA)

The Evangelion-Apostolos is a combined codex-formation of 2 and 4. Also here the full codex type (Gregory-Aland: l^{+a} e) provides series of lessons for all days of the ecclesiastical year, not only according to the two main series of lessons from the four gospels (synaxarion and menologion), but also for the two main series of apostolos lessons (synaxarion and menologion) to be read in the daily liturgy. But there are also readings for different liturgical occasions and the eleven heothina lessons. The derived forms from the full archetype apostoloevangelion are of interest and are summarised here, completely analogous to the sub-codex forms of the Evangelion and Apostolos as independent entities.

Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} e)	14 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} esk)	23 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} sk)	7 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} k)	8 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} sel)	18 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} Lit)	133 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} P)	37 codd.
Evangelion-Apostolos codices (l^{+a} unspecif.)	5 codd.
Excluded from Aland List	6 codd.
Sum Total (INTF registration)	251 codd.
Actual Total	245 codd.

7. Short codex description of the Tetraevangelion-Apocalypse (TAp)

A very small group is the combined codex type of Tetraevangelion and added Apocalypse (11 codd.).

8. Short codex description of the Praxapostolos-Apocalypse (PAp)

Another, somewhat larger combination is the codex type of Praxapostolos and added Apocalypse (64 codd.).

9. Short codex description of Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos-Apocalypse (TPAp: integral NT corpus)

The collection of NT writings stays not on its own foot. In fact, the constituent NT corpora included are threefold: 1) the four Gospels (Tetraevangelion), 2) the Acts and the corpora of seven Catholic and fourteen Pauline apostolic epistles (Praxapostolos), and 3) the Apocalypse. Thus, this NT codex type is the combined formation of 1 and 3 (Tetraevangelion and Praxapostolos) with added Apocalypse. Only a very limited group of this codex type is preserved (42 codices), indicating that the 'full NT' is not a Byzantine basic codex form, although it did exist. The excluded codices are (uncertain or destroyed): Aland 241, 1785. Moreover, there are also three TPAp with

Palterion codices (Aland 18, 242, [339]) or with commentaries (Aland 1780), or a biglott (Aland 2136). Chronological limits: X/XI–XVI c.[48].

Total number TPAp codex items (INTF)	51 codd.[49]
For CBM selected codices	44 codd.
Excluded codices	7 codd.

That the codex form should be interpreted differently from the common picture (the NT as collection of 27 different books and letters , see 27th ed. Nestle-Aland: *Novum Testamentum textus*, pp. 1-680)) is further underlined by codico-liturgical data: in a considerable part of the preserved codices of this type one finds the same liturgical apparatus as in the Tetraevangelion and Praxapostolos, including synaxarion and menologion tables, anagnostic-liturgical marginal notes and liturgical pericope numbers.

Lect evidence inTPAp codices ('complete NT')	
For CBM selected codices	44 codd.
+ Lect	31 codd.
- Lect	9 codd.
Insufficient data	4 codd.

It appears that in Byzantine codex tradition the NT was modelled and used as liturgical manuscript.

10. **Various small and fragmented codex-type groups**
    a) Praxapostolos partial:
       Pa = Acts
       Pc = Catholic Letters
       Pp = Pauline letters
    b) Apocalypse (CBM: Ap, Aland r) is incorporated in different codex types and not transmitted as single codex,
       (1) T with added Ap (11 codd.)
       (2) P with added Ap (64 codd.)
       (3) TP with added Ap (44 codd.)
       (4) TPAp with added Psalterion (3 codd.)
       (5) PB = Pandect Bibles of all OT and NT corpora (10 codd., not alle include Ap)
       (6) Ap included in larger mixt codex collections [cf. Gregory I 1900, p. 18 'Am seltesten sind die Abschriften der Apokalypse, von denen sehr viele unter nicht biblischen Schriften stehen' and III 1909, p. 1191: to Nr. 2070 [rK] 'Dieser Band zeigt, wie man die Apokalypse unter anderen nicht biblischen Schriften abschrieb, den wir haben folgende Umgebung' [Isaak the Syrian, kanon of Tropophoros, Chrysostomos logos on Pascha, Apok, Psellos on Song of Songs, etc.]
       (7) Ap with commentaries by Andreas of Cesaerea, Arethas, Oikoumenios, and other interpreters [see Index of v. Soden in Gregory III 1909, pp. 1429-1430, and Index in Aland 1994, p. 402, and p. 404, in different order, 68 codd.].

[48] See for a sample of this type of codices, S. M. Royé 2008, 'Assessment', pp. 109-110 .

[49] The eight complete Bible codices (including OT and NT corpora) in Aland 19942 indicated as eapr, are reserved for another codex group in which the combined OT and NT corpora were united.

c) Codex and roll fragments written on papyrus will be integrated in the Alphabetical-topographical catalogue of libraries keeping these codex fragments and pieces. They are considered from a codicological point of view as pars pro toto of codex types, until the contrary is made evident.

Codico-liturgical connexions between papyri codex fragments of different content

The cataloguing of the whole group of NT papyrus codex and scroll fragments (2nd–8th c.) will be set up from the point of view of the new approach, the codico-liturgical study of papyri. For reason of its importance CBM will collect and evaluate the relevant materials into the NT volumes under construction. Precisely for its fragmentary and rudimentary state, it seems profitable to combine NT papyri within the whole group of NT codex types, and later also with OT, hermeneutic, patristic and liturgical finds (von Dobschütz 1933, p. 202: **P** 3, **P** 4, **P** 5, **P** 44) (see Parker 2009, Aland/Rosenbaum 1995, van Haelst 1976). The combination of the different papyri groups can reveal new significant data and cross-relationships between the groups and it will highlight the interdisciplinary aspect indeed. This certainly will contribute to a fuller picture of Christian codex formation in its earliest stages of evolution. From the strong codex evidence of later periods reconstruction paradigms can be set up, which can help in enciphering the fragments.

Short description of codex fragments on papyrus (codex types *in statu nascendi*)

There are in total 124 (NT) Papyri manuscript fragments (siglum **P**) of smaller and larger size, which comprise incomplete codices and it appeared difficult to reconstruct or identify confined codex forms, comparable with the codices of later times (see the effort by Skeat). The papyri pieces, folios and fragments can be considered as proto-codex forms of later more fixed codex formations. The papyri group was integrated in Gregory 1908 as independent group manuscripts and given a priority status within the NT manuscript group by v. Dobschütz and this remained the same in Aland 1994² and the present INTF (Virtual Manuscript Room) classifications.

Foundation: earlier research of codex data: Gregory, v. Soden, v. Dobschütz, Aland, INTF / VMR, INTF staff, Fraenkel, SU staff.

Model for the contents of the CBM volumes: volume 1.1 (T codd.)

Volume 1.1: Tetraevangelion codices

1. Tetraevangelion codices

Introduction to the Catalography of New Testament manuscripts in liturgical context (from the 2nd c. on)
- The Architecture of the New Testament corpus: the principal codex types: Diagrams 1-7
- Statistical data of the new catalogued New Testament corpus according to the principal codex types: Diagram 8

Introduction to the *Tetraevangelion codex type* (T)

Explanation of the used codicographical symbols and signs

Part I. Full Description of a ninth century Tetraevangelion codex type: *Codex Cyprius* (Paris, BN, Gr. 63)
Plates of Model Codex Cyprius illustrating the codico-liturgical design

Part II. Alphabetical-topographical catalogue of Tetraevangelion codices kept in libraries worldwide (T 1 – T 1782)

Part III. Bibliography of catalogues of manuscripts consulted for the T codex group

Bibliographical overview of research concerning ancient versions of T codices

A. Syrian T codices
B. Armenian T codices
C. Coptic T codices
D. Ethiopian T codices
E. Georgian T codices
F. Arabic T codices
G. Slavic T codices
H. Romanian T codices
I. Latin T codices

Concordant indices of codices

- INTF: VMR [e] – CBM T codd.
- Aland 1994 [e] – CBM T codd.
- Gregory [Evv] – CBM T codd.
- Von Soden [ε] – CBM T codd.

Indices

Index of T codd. according to writing material
- List A. Papyrus [Majuscule T codd. : II – VIII c.]
- List B. Parchment [Majuscule T codd. : II – X c.]
- List C. Parchment [Minuscule T codd. : IX – XVIII c.]
- List D. Paper [Minuscule T codd. : XII – XVIII c.]

Index of Partial T codd. (T part., T fols., T fol., T fragms., T fragm.)
Index of Palimpsest T codd. (T palim., incl. the contents of the codex in upper and lower script)
Index of T bilingual codd.
Index of excluded T codd [destroyed, disappeared, unverifiable]
Index of dated T codd.
Index of T codd. per age (II – XVIII)

Annexes (Group 1)

1. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Wettstein I-II [1751-1752]
2. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Scholz I-II [1830-1836]
3. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Tischendorf I-II [1869-1872, Prolegomena by Gregory, vol. III, 1884-1894]
4. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Gregory I [1900-1909]
5. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Gregory II [1908]
6. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Aland / INTF [1963-1994]
7. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by the INTF: VMR [2009 –]

Annexes (Group 2)

1. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Michaelis I-II [1788]
2. Catalogue Model of NT corpora by Von Soden I-II, III-IV [1902-1913]

Table of libraries keeping T codices per country
Table of libraries keeping T codices alphabetically
Plates of Tetraevangelion codices illustrating codicological and liturgical features

Volume 1.2: Evangelion codices

2. Evangelion codices.

Volume 2

3. Praxapostolos codices (P)

4. Apostolos codices (A)

5. Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos codices (TP)

6. Evangelion-Apostolos codices (EA)

7. Tetraevangelion-Apocalypse codices (TAp)

8. Praxapostolos-Apocalypse codices (PAp)

9. Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos-Apocalypse (TPAp)

10. Various small codex-type groups

General index of all NT codex types catalogued per library

B. Grouping of Byzantine Biblical Manuscripts in Liturgical Context: OT corpora.

Volume 3
Psalterion (& Nine Odes) codices

Volume 4
Prophetologion codices

Volume 5
Various other OT codex formations

Foundation: earlier research of codex data: Rahlfs, Fraenkel, SU staff, Parpulov, Engberg, Lowden.

C. Grouping of Byzantine Biblical Manuscripts in Liturgical Context: OT & NT corpora together.

Volume 6
Pandecta Bible codices
Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos-Psalterion codices
Tetraevangeliion-Praxapostolos-Aposcalypse-Psalterion codices
NT & Prophets codices
NT & Wisdom codices
Other combinations of biblical corpora

Foundation: earlier research of NT codex data: Gregory, v. Soden, v. Dobschütz, Aland, INTF / VMR, INTF staff. And OT: Rahlfs, Fraenkel, SU staff.

D. Grouping of Byzantine Liturgical MSS providing the liturgical context and structures: Typikon, Euchologion, Horologion, Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaion, Parakletike/Oktoechos, Theotokarion, Akolouthia corpora.

Liturgical Group I: Typikon corpora

Volumes 7-8
Typikon codices (Typ)

Foundation: Dimitriesvki I, III.

Liturgical Group II: Euchologia & hymnological corpora

Volume 9
Euchologion codices (Euch)

Volume 10
Horologion codices (Hor)

Volume 11
Triodion codices (Triod)

Volume 12
Pentekostarion codices (Pent)

Volume 13
Menaia codices (Men)

Volume 14
Oktoechos codices (Okt)
Parakletike codices (Par)

Volume 15
Theotokarion codices (Theot)

Foundation: Dimitriesvki II (Euchologion codices); Jacobs; local catalogues.
NB. Development with Greek Universities (Internationalisation project).

Liturgical Group III : Hymnological-Musical corpora

Volume 16
Sticherarion codices (Stich)

Volume 17
Hirmologion codices (Hirm)

Volume 18
Anthologion codices (Anth)

Foundation: Stathis, MMB staff.

E. Grouping of Byzantine Hagiological MSS in liturgical context: Synaxarion & Menologion corpora.

Volume 19
Synaxarion & menologion codices (premetaphrastic, metaphrastic, postmetraphrastic corpora)

Volume 20
Mixed synaxarion & menologion codices (hagiographical and homiletical materials)

Foundation: earlier research of codices: Ehrhard, Delehaye, Halkin, Bollandists.

F. Grouping of Byzantine Homiletic MSS in liturgical context: Panegyrikon corpora.

Volume 21
Homiletical liturgical corpora of individual Byzantine fathers
(Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Ephraim the Syrian, etc.)

Volume 22
Annual / Semi-annual Panegyrika: homiletical liturgical codices on Evangelion readings
Annual / Semi-annual Panegyrika: homiletical liturgical codices on Apostolos readings

Volume 23
Annual Kyriakodromion: homiletical liturgical codices on Evangelion readings
Annual Kyriakodromion: homiletical liturgical codices on Apostolos readings

Foundation: Ehrhard. *[CBM PhD : Lena in preparation]*

G. Grouping of Byzantine Exegetical MSS on NT or OT in liturgical context: Hermeneia and Hypomnemata codices.

NT Hermeneutical Group I : hypomnemata corpora

Volume 24
Tetraevangelion hypomnemata codices (continuous homilies/commentaries)
Subtetraevangelion codex hypomnemata forms on one or some gospels
Praxapostolos hypomnemata codices
Subpraxapostolos codex hypomnemata forms on one or some gospels
Other hypomnemata combinations of codices

Foundation: earlier research of NT codex data: Gregory, v. Soden, v. Dobschütz, Aland, INTF / VMR.

NT Hermeneutical Group II: catena corpora

Volume 25
Tetraevangelion catena commentary codices
Sub-tetraevangelion catena commentary forms
Praxapostolos catena commentary codices
Other commentary combinations catena commentary codices

Foundation: earlier research of codex group: Gregory, Karo-Lietzmann, v. Soden, Ehrhard, v. Dobschütz, Aland, INTF staff.

OT Hermeneutical Group I and II: homiletical / hypomnemata / catena corpora

Volume 26
Psalterion (and Nine Odes) homiletic / hypomnemata / catena codices

Volume 27
Prophetologion homiletic / hypomnemata / catena codices

Volume 28
Other OT codex corpora with homiletic / hypomnemata / catena codices
NB. Diverse codex forms: Hypomnemata, Homiletika, Eratopokriseis, compilation commentaries (Serial codices, catena).

H. Grouping of Byzantine Ascetical MSS in liturgical context: Asketikon, Paterikon, Gerontikon, Lausaikon, Leimonarion, Klimaka, Katecheseis corpora.

Volume 29
Ascetical-liturgical corpora of individual Byzantine fathers
1. Basileios the Great codices (asketika codices)
2. Theodoros the Studite (catecheseis codices)
3. Ephraim the Syrian (asketika codices)
4. John of Sinai (Scholastikos) (klimaka codices)
5. Palladios (lausaikon / paradeisos codices)
6 John Moschos (leimonarion codices)

Volume 30
Ascetical-liturgical compilation codices
7. Apophthegmata codices
8. Gerontikon codices
9. Evergetinos codices
10. Philokalia codices

Not included in this CBM series, although indirectly connected to the liturgical practices, are the following codex groups: ecclesiastical-historical, apologetical-dogmatic (theological) and canonical (canon law) codices. Classical corpora in Ancient Greek should have its own CBM series in which the inter-corpora approach (with the primary focus on the integral codex and all included texts) and the co-codification (transmission of ecclesiastical and classical works together in codices) are placed central stage.

II. CBM: Pinakes Series ΠΙΝΑΚΕΣ

A. Comprehensive Pinax of all Prescribed Readings in Typikon Evergetis (XII c.).

Volume 1
Pinax of all interconnected liturgical prescribed readings (evangelion, apostolos, psalms and odes, propheteia) liturgical, homiletical, hagiographical and ascetical) in **Typikon Evergetis**.

B. Pinakes of all Prescribed Readings in basic IXth century Codex Types (Evangelion, Apostolos, and so on).

Volume 2
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings in a ninth or tenth century **Evangelion codex** together with a present-day printed Hieron Evangelion edition which is used in Greek Orthodox Churches and monasteries.

Volume 3
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings in a ninth or tenth century **Apostolos codex**, together with a present-day printed Apostolos edition which is used in Greek Orthodox Churches and monasteries.

Volume 4
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings (kathismata) in a ninth or tenth century **Psalterion codex**, together with a present-day printed Psalterion edition which is used in Greek Orthodox Churches and monasteries.

Volume 5
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings in a ninth or tenth century **Prophetologion codex**, together with a present-day printed Prophetologion edition (and/or the readings included in Triodion-Pentekostarion, and Menaia editions) which are used in Greek Orthodox Churches and monasteries.

Volume 6
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings in a ninth or tenth century **Panegyrikon codex or Kyriakodromion**, together with a present-day printed Panegyrikon, or Kyriakodromion edition which is used in Greek Orthodox monasteries.

Volume 7
Pinax of all prescribed liturgical readings in a ninth or tenth century **Synaxarion codex or Menologion (Bioi hagion)**, together with a present-day printed Synaxaristes edition which is used in Greek Orthodox Churches and monasteries.

III. CBM: Subsidia Series

Collected papers of expert meetings, dissertations, monographs.

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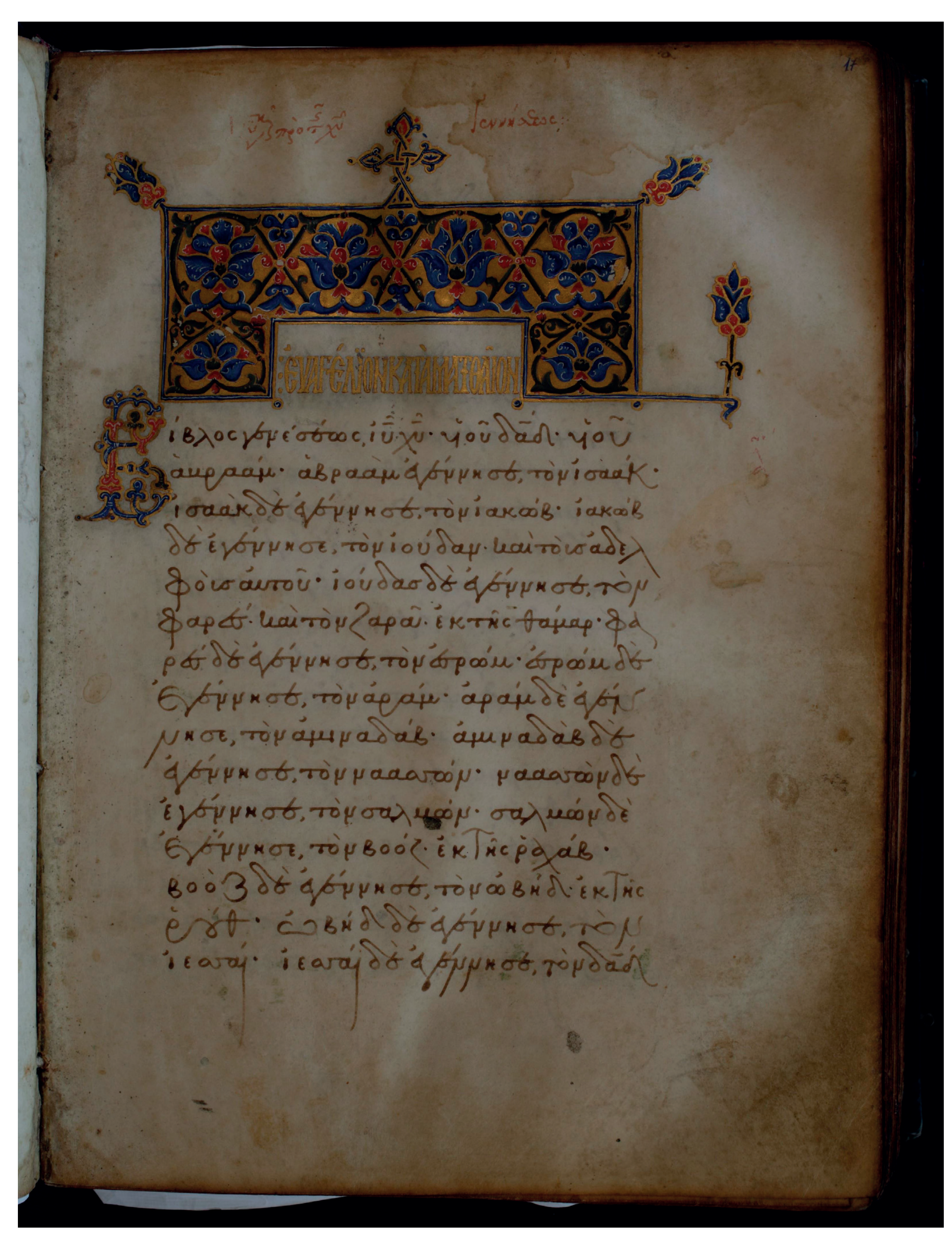
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PICTURES



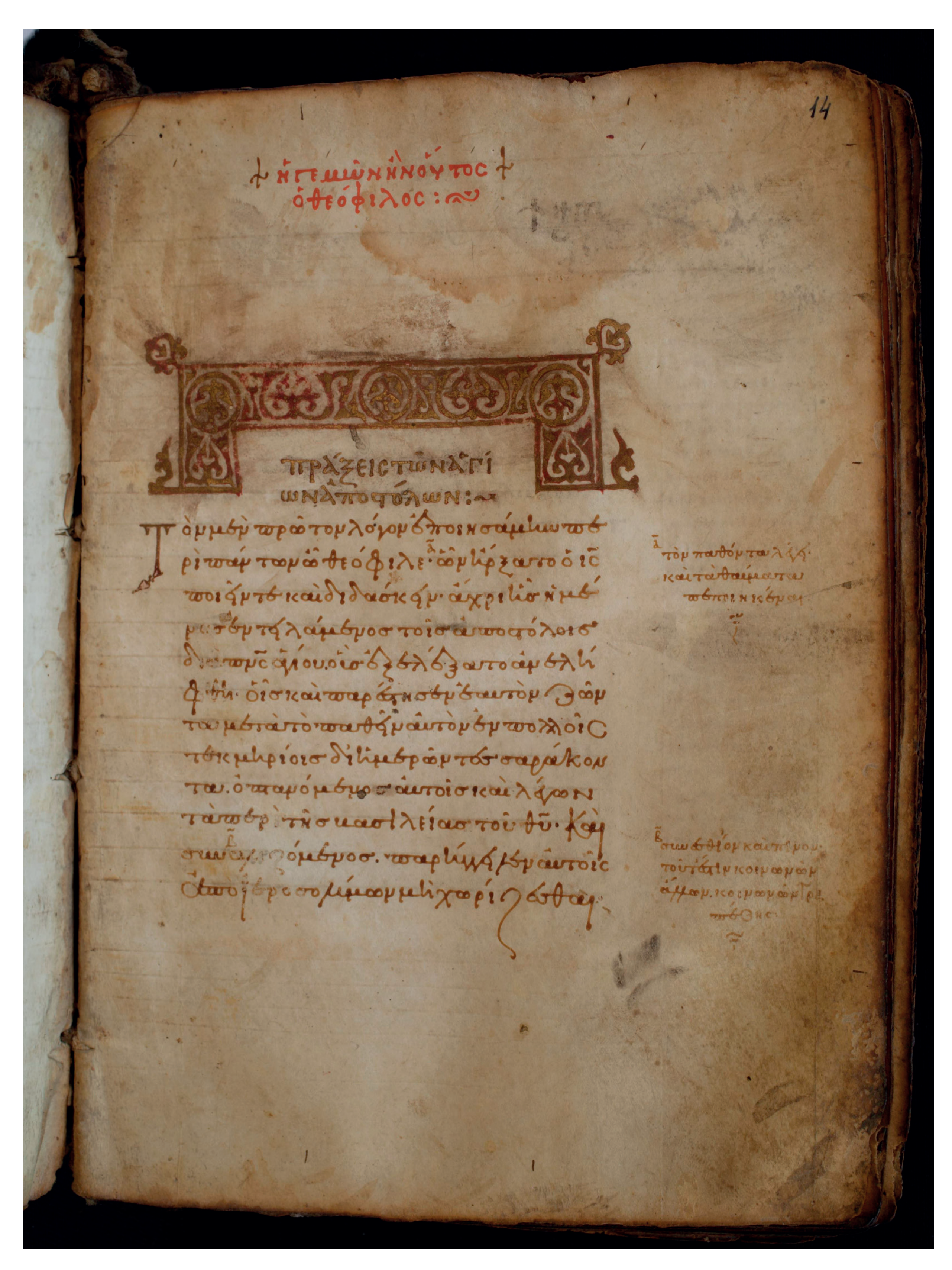
1. The **Miroslav Gospels** (Serbian: Мирослављево Јеванђеље or *Miroslavljevo Jevanđelje*). This Gospel Book is a 362-page illuminated manuscript on parchment with very rich decorations. It is one of the oldest surviving documents written in Old Church Slavonic. The Miroslav Gospels manuscript is the most precious and significant document of the cultural heritage of Serbia. It was created by order of Miroslav, brother of Stefan Nemanja, Grand Prince of Rascia.



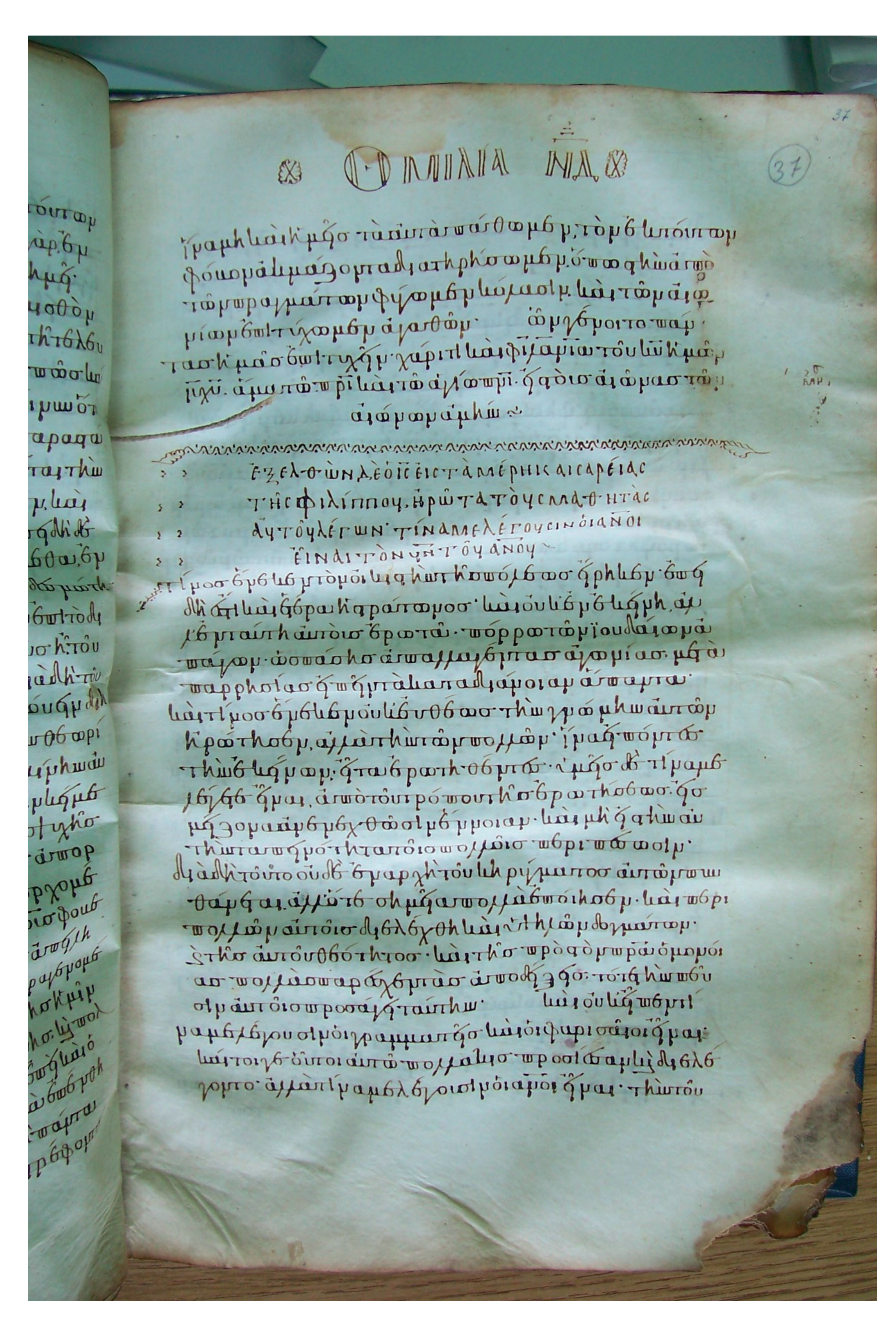
2. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 10 of Vlora, folio 17r, Tetraevangelion.



3. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 10 of Vlora, folio 150v, Icon of St Luke.



4. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 17 of Berat, folio 14r, Praxeis.


ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΝΔ

ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝ ΔΕ Ο ΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ
ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, ΗΡΩΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΩΝ· ΤΙΝΑ ΜΕ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΟΙ
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΟΥ

5. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 27 of Berat, folio 37r, Hermeneia (Commentary).



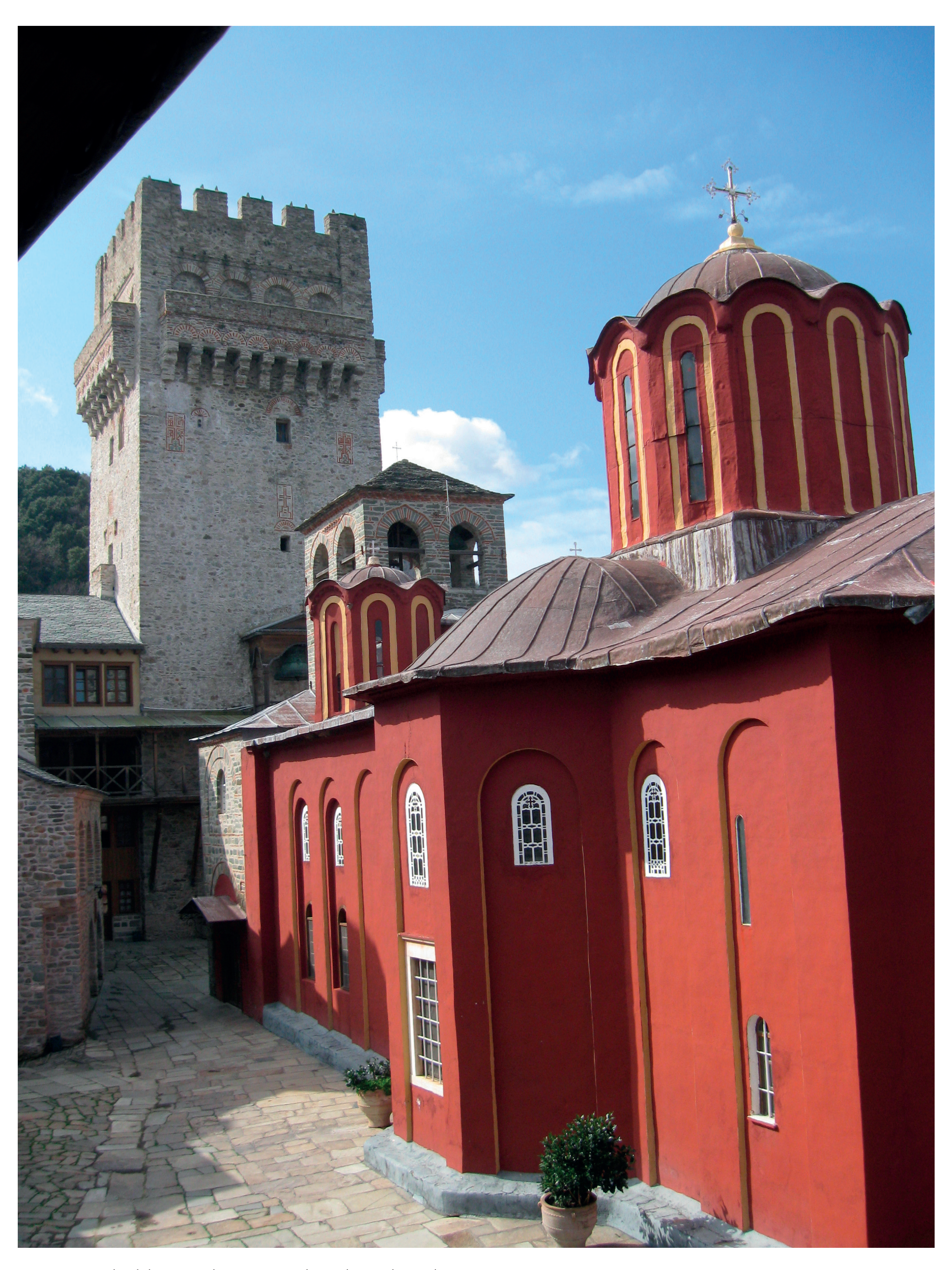
6. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 96 of Korça, Photo of the whole codex.



7. Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit, Tiranë (Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana), Codex 96 of Korça, folios 6v-7r, Icon of St John Chrysostom and Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy.



8. Outside view of Mone Karakallou (Mount Athos).



9. The Katholikon – the main Church within the monastery.



10. Entrance to the monastery library ["Museum"].



11. Evangelion lying on the Holy Table with Tetraevangelion (standing, left side) and a Hieratikon (lying, right side).



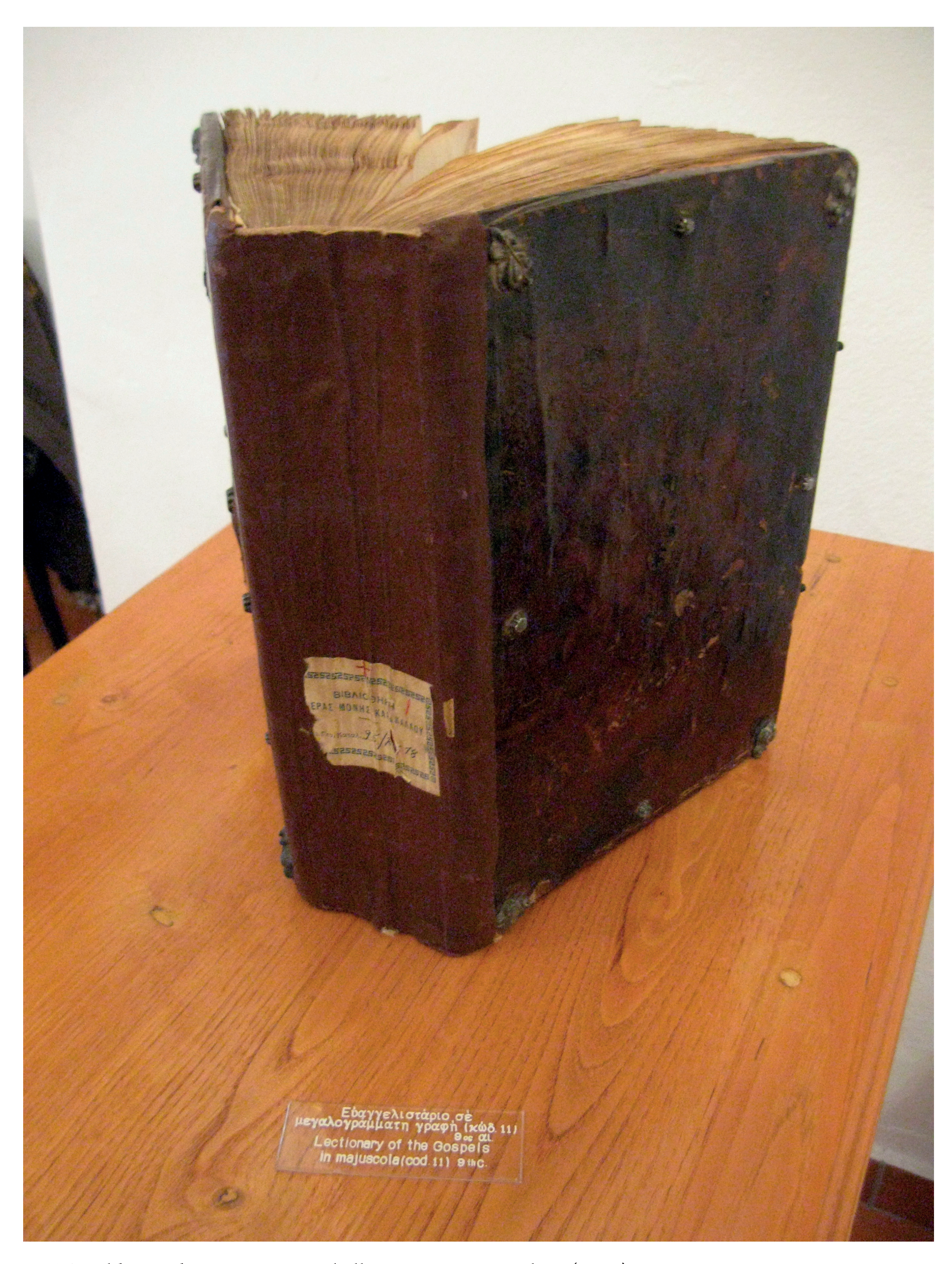
12. Books used in the right choros.



13. The Climax of John of Sinai read in the Trapeza (refectory).



14. Codices on the shelves in different formats.



15. The oldest codex in Mone Karakallou, Hieron Evangelion (IX c.).



16. Page from the ninth-century Hieron Evangelion, beginning of the readings for Great Lent (Mark).



17. Tetraevangelion codex (XIII c.) with icon left (Evangelist Luke) and ornament and enclosed title of the Gospel according to Luke on the right, marking the beginning clearly.



18. Liturgical scroll (Liturgy of saint John Chrysostom).